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North Atlantic Cooperation Council Meets

Kozyrev Addresses NACC

LD0312154593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1425 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Taras Lariokhin, Valeriy Shashkov, and Georgiy Shmelov]

[Text] Brussels, December 3 TASS—A session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) opened at the NATO headquarters here on Friday. The session is being attended by NACC foreign ministers who will discuss problems connected with the ensurance of security and stability in Europe, and endorse an NACC action plan for 1994. The NACC brings together NATO and Eastern European countries and ex-Soviet republics.

"The council justified its existence during the period of transition from East-West confrontation to partnership. The task now is to determine its place in a new system of European cooperation institutions," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in his remarks at the NACC session.

"The uniqueness of the NACC is in the fact that it functions at the junction of the interests of Western, Central and Eastern Europe," Kozyrev said.

"To NATO countries, the NACC opens up an opportunity to transform the North Atlantic Alliance with due regard for the radically changed nature of threats to European and international peace.

"To Russia and other ex-Soviet countries, the NACC furnishes a practical mechanism of partnership with the former adversaries in the most sensitive sphere of security.

"To Eastern European countries, the NACC means an opportunity to remove the sense of a certain 'security vacuum' without expanding NATO.

"The NACC could assume a more active coordinating role in settling conflicts that arise on the basis of aggressive nationalism," the Russian minister said.

Kozyrev urged NACC member-countries to support Russia's peacekeeping efforts throughout the former Soviet Union. It is essential not to theorise about peacekeeping operations but to participate in them by sending observers and rendering moral- political, diplomatic and material support, he said.

Touching upon Ukraine's stand on the nuclear weapons inherited from the former Soviet Union, Kozyrev described it as one of new challenges to european security and stability.

One of NACC member-states, contrary to its commitments, has declared that it possesses nuclear weapons, virtually arrogating the status of a new nuclear power, with quite an impressive potential, Kozyrev pointed out.

In this connection the Russian minister emphasised that urgent measures were needed to maintain and consolidate the nuclear non-proliferation regime. The NACC will become genuinely effective only when it proves its ability promptly to react to this kind of challenges, Kozyrev stated.

Kozyrev Meets Estonian Counterpart

LD0312180493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1434 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Taras Laryokhin, Valeriy Shashkov, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Brussels, 3 Dec—Questions of bilateral relations between Russia and Estonia have been discussed at a meeting between Andrey Kozyrev and Trivimi Velliste, the foreign ministers from the two countries. They are both taking part in the Brussels North Atlantic Cooperation Council. T. Velliste has invited his Russian colleague to pay a visit to Tallinn.

An accord was reached during the meeting on a visit to Estonia by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. In particular, it is proposed during this visit to examine problems connected with the situation of Russian servicemen of pensionable age.

Christopher, Kozyrev Meet

LD0312184393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Taras Lariokhin, Valeriy Shashkov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Brussels, 3 Dec—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has met with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The meeting was devoted to drawing up the political agenda for U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to Russia in January. Both men are taking part in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] session in Brussels. Andrey Kozyrev told journalists that Clinton's visit will be the first full-scale visit after the end of the "Cold War."

Matters relating to the development of partnership between the two states in ensuring security and stability were discussed during the meeting. The two ministers believe that a series of practical measures aimed at expanding this partnership should be drawn up.

Kozyrev and Christopher also examined a program for economic cooperation and issues related to implementing the package of measures to give assistance to Russia which was adopted at the last "Big Seven" meeting.

An exchange of opinions took place on the situation in the Middle East, in the Baltic countries, in the CIS, and in the "hot spots" on the territory of the former USSR.

Andrey Kozyrev briefed his interlocutor on the internal political situation in Russia in the run-up to the parliamentary elections.

The Russian minister believes that two achievements of the NACC session which has just ended are worthy of note. The issue of accepting new members immediately into NATO was removed from the agenda, and for the first time, by consensus, an article on the need to complete the full ratification of the START I Treaty was included in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council document.

Further on Kozyrev Comments

LD0312210093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] At its Friday session the North Atlantic Council settled the issue of prompt admission of new members to NATO. "This issue is no longer on the agenda," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told journalists.

According to him, now on the agenda is an idea advanced by Russia and the U.S.A.: translate partnership between Eastern Europe, Russia and NATO into concrete deeds connected with conversion, peacekeeping, and the like.

With reference to discussions concerning nuclear nonproliferation Kozyrev noted that participants in the session in Brussels succeeded in achieving what the CSCE Foreign Ministers' Council failed to attain at its conference in Rome on November 30 and December 1.

"The session in Brussels adopted a statement on the need to ratify the START-1 treaty and join without delay the Nuclear Non- proliferation Treaty as a nuclear-free state," Kozyrev said. "In other words, it is perfectly clear that what has been done by Ukraine's legislature cannot viewed as ratification of START-1, and that the task of scrapping nuclear arms is still faced by our neighbors."

With reference to his upcoming meeting with the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Brussels, Kozyrev said that they will discuss largely the issues connected with the visit to be paid to Moscow by Vice President Albert Gore "in a couple weeks" and prepare the political agenda for President Bill Clinton's visit to Russia.

According to the Russian foreign minister, this needs to be done to enable "the spirit of Vancouver to find its further expression in Moscow, and a package of practical partnership measures to take shape in Moscow".

Ukraine's Zlenko Meets Christopher

LD0312214093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko held talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher during a session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] foreign ministers on 3 December at NATO headquarters in Brussels. Speaking highly of the telephone conversation between the Presidents of Ukraine and the United States, the foreign ministers stated that relations between the two countries are adopting a dynamic nature. Anatoliy Zlenko and Warren Christopher discussed a wide range of issues concerning international security and bilateral cooperation. Special emphasis was placed on the need to solve Ukraine's security problems and to grant it economic assistance with the aim of helping the START I Treaty to take effect. A short media briefing was held after the talks.

Anatoliy Zlenko also held bilateral negotiations with the foreign ministers of France, Italy, and the Netherlands. Before the start of the session, Ukraine's minister of foreign affairs held a conversation with NATO Secretary General Woerner.

NACC Final Statement Described

LD0312225493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2022 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Taras Lariokhin, Valeriy Shashkov, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Brussels December 3 TASS—The sixth session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] ended here today with the adoption of a final joint statement and a working plan to develop dialogue, partnership and cooperation. The session was attended by foreign ministers of NATO member-states, eastern Europe and republics of the former Soviet Union.

The two years after the council's creation witnessed constant development of cooperation and partnership between council members, stressed the final statement. Their consultations consolidated mutual understanding and trust. This process together with successful democratic and economic reforms helps stability in the region.

The ministers have called on all states which have not joined the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear arms to immediately do so. They stressed the exclusive importance of the START-I and START-II treaties on limitation of strategic offensive armaments.

The statement called on all states to increase their efforts with the aim of soonest completion of ratification of the START-I Treaty, the introduction of the START-I and START-II and implementation of their provisions. This goal can be achieved through the assistance to quick, reliable and safe elimination of nuclear arms of the former Soviet Union.

Summing up the meeting results, NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner described the discussion on key aspects of cooperation and security as very efficient and frank.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who headed a Russian delegation to the session, praised its results and stressed the session draw a line under the question of immediate admission of new members to NATO. "This issue has been withdrawn from the agenda," said the minister.

Andrey Kozyrev expressed satisfaction with the fact the final document includes items on the need for all states to join the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear arms and completion of the START-I Treaty ratification.

NATO Postpones New Membership

PM0312165993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Yuriy Kovalenko report: "NATO Accommodates Russia and Refuses To Admit East Europe to Its Ranks"]

[Text] Paris—NATO foreign ministers at their meeting in Brussels opposed the admission—at least in the foreseeable future—of new states to the bloc. That stance is primarily linked with Russia's abruptly negative attitude to its former Warsaw Pact allies' joining the North Atlantic bloc. This question will be decided once and for all at the NATO summit forum to be held 10-11 January in the Belgian capital.

NATO is not trying to create a new military bloc by isolating Russia. Stable relations between Moscow and NATO, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd pointed out, are an important factor for security in Europe.

Instead of full-fledged membership, the East European countries—like Russia—are being offered the "Partnership for Peace" program, initiated by Washington. It is confined to offering them assistance in drawing up their military budgets, in ensuring civilian control over the military's activity, and in conversion.

We still have to settle some details, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher acknowledged at the meeting, but the "Russians are very pleased with the 'Partnership for Peace' concept. I heard that straight from President Yeltsin." NATO does not want to create a new military bloc, the secretary of state indicated.

The United States is also in favor of such neutral European states as Austria, Sweden, and Finland acceding to this program. By and large "Partnership for Peace" should be just the first step toward new members joining NATO.

Thus, admission to NATO, which Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, and Bratislava are trying so hard to secure, is being postponed for many years. Instead the East Europeans will have to content themselves with taking part in some functions of an alliance which refuses to take on the commitment of ensuring their security.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel stressed that NATO has no intention of fixing dates for the admission of new members. He ruled out altogether the idea of Russia and Ukraine, the "two nuclear powers," joining NATO.

Particular attention was devoted to the "Ukrainian issue" at the meeting in Brussels. The NATO ministers demanded in peremptory tones that Kiev renounce nuclear weapons. Otherwise the ministers threatened to exclude Ukraine from the "Partnership for Peace" program. Klaus Kinkel described it as the "difficult child" of Europe.

Douglas Hurd said that Kiev has called into question its membership of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, comprising NATO members and the East European states.

NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner is preparing a tough message for Kiev demanding immediate action on nuclear disarmament. He reminded them of the benefit that Ukraine derives from cooperating with the North Atlantic bloc.

Lastly, NATO rejected Ukrainian Minister Anatoliy Zlenko's request for the West to provide security guarantees and financial compensation in exchange for the nuclear weapons being dismantled.

Kozyrev Assesses Meetings

LD0412091093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0141 GMT 4 Dec 93

[ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec—In assessing the outcome of the meetings and conversations in Rome and Brussels, three points stand out as being important, Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said today in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent en route from Brussels to Moscow.

The head of the Russian foreign policy department took part in the session of the Council of CSCE foreign ministers in Rome, and afterward the sixth session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC).

In the first instance it involves the examination of issues connected with Ukraine's position on such a topical issue as the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, the minister said. What was not achieved in Rome, the minister stressed, was achieved in Brussels. It is possible that the tough position of the Russian delegation had some effect in Rome, where it was stated that Russia would block the entire package of decisions of the CSCE session unless the participating countries made their position clear on this most acute problem.

The interpretation by Ukrainian colleagues and some other representatives of eastern and western Europe of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's alleged ratification, with stipulations, of the START I Treaty as being "an important positive step" was completely rejected in Brussels.

As far as the Russian side's position is concerned, the minister said, we view this ratification, if it is a step, as being in another direction. The concluding document adopted in Brussels is completely unambiguous and clearly shows the need for a complete, genuine ratification of the treaty.

Another important point, the Russian minister believes, is that after the Brussels decision it will be completely clear and obvious to the new Ukrainian parliament that the international community will not recognize what has been represented as a ratification of the treaty. This is not a step forward at all. Kiev has to fulfill its duty in full.

The second important result of the meeting, Andrey Kozyrev said, was the fact that the idea of immediately expanding NATO's numbers had been buried. Of course, the minister said, NATO had essentially not dealt seriously with issues of admittance, but the fact that there was general support at the Brussels meeting for the idea of developing cooperation based on partnership, including on the part of Eastern European states themselves, was extremely important. Thus, before the NATO summit and the summit meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton, the minister said, we will be able to deal with solving extremely specific and practical problems.

In the opinion of the minster, it is extremely important that the working plan for practical cooperation and concrete measures for this was determined in Brussels.

Those taking part paid particular attention to examining all aspects of the idea of "partnership for peace." This was essentially a Russian idea, Andrey Kozyrev said. President Yeltsin had said that Russia was in favor of full-scale cooperation between NATO states, Russia, and Eastern European countries. After some Eastern European countries said they wanted to join NATO as soon as possible, the minister went on, the United States put forward the "partnership for peace" initiative. This was, in other words, "our idea repackaged," the minister stressed.

Zlenko News Conference Reported

LD0412104093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] A small audience assembled for the news conference by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko at NATO headquarters. The journalists were interested in why the ratification of START I by the Ukrainian parliament is being rejected by the participants of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] or why it is being criticized. The minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine noted:

No one should consider that opinion is changing since a Ukrainian proposal for the formula was adopted in the joint communique. The word unreservedly was removed from the draft, which said: Ukraine should ratify START I unreservedly and fully. So this means that ratification of START I by Ukraine is a fact.

In his replies Anatoliy Zlenko found quite a successful comparison concerning the unreserved ratification of START I and said that Ukraine had received a terrible gift from the USSR—the Chernobyl plant and the accident there. Ukraine has been left alone with this tragedy. It spends 15 percent of the state budget on eliminating the aftermath of the accident.

So Ukraine has learned from misfortune, and that is why it is demanding compensation for nuclear weapons. If our state hands over the whole nuclear arsenal to Russia, it will be left alone with its problems and the world community will forget about Ukraine. Another paradoxical fact arises: Ukraine needs nuclear materials for its electric power stations and buys them from Russia. It pays vast amounts of money for this, and it has not received a cent for the nuclear arsenal it handed over to Russia.

Kozyrev Discusses Military Doctrine

LD0412192193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1816 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] Russia intends to remain a military super power, however, "not in order to frighten itself and the whole world so that to be outside of the international division of labour and cooperation." This was announced by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev after the NATO session in Brussels. He pointed out that Russian military aid must be a guarantee for us to take a proper position in the international division of labour. "We must enter markets instead of leaving them," he emphasized. Answering the question why the Western leading super powers, NATO and the UN had demanded a clarification on the Russian military doctrine Kozyrev said that the necessity for this "stemmed from the doctrine itself." He repeated that Russia considered nobody to be its enemy and was ready for cooperation with other states including the military and technical one. "It is important for us that out intentions be understood correctly and that our military doctrine be not a fright," Kozyrev remarked.

Ukraine's Zlenko Addresses CSCE Meeting

LD0312174393 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1448 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Speaking at the fourth session of the council of foreign ministers of participant countries of the CSCE in Rome, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko noted in particular: "Ratification by the Supreme Council of Ukraine of the START I Treaty is a very important step on the path of Ukraine's accession to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. This is our first, but not

our last step in this direction. The most important thing is that Ukraine's government can go over to practical implementation of the program of eliminating nuclear weapons located on its territory. Ukraine truly intends to destroy nuclear weapons, but also wants to receive appropriate compensation for their components. We hope that this stance will find understanding among participant countries of the CSCE."

The minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine also said: "The question of further participation by the CSCE in preventive diplomacy with the aim of solving regional conflicts has now arisen extremely acutely. The CSCE has assembled representatives from many nations with various interests and problems at the negotiating table. But they are all united by what we call the most important political achievement of the CSCE process—the fundamental principles of the Helsinki agreement, including respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. In connection with this it is necessary to note that an attempt to play on the now topical questions of ethnic minorities to achieve certain political aims contradicts CSCE philosophy. The question of abiding by the rights of ethnic minorities cannot be resolved without solving the question of their loyalty to the state on whose territory they reside."

To conclude, A. Zlenko stated: "Several important initiatives directed at strengthening stability and security in Europe have recently been advanced. The 'partnership for the sake of peace' initiative, and also the Ukrainian initiative on setting up a zone of security and stability in central and eastern Europe, in our opinion, should be carefully examined. The president of Ukraine in his speech at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Parliamentary Assembly session put forward an initiative to decrease military activity and extend cooperation to strengthen mutual trust in the Black Sea region.

We think that future European security should be based on such initiatives and our aim is to find an appropriate mechanism to unite them, and in this way contribute to strengthening security within the CSCE.

Press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine—UKRINFORM

Christopher's Call To Assist Georgia Noted

LD0312183893 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1000 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Excerpt] The press service of the Georgian Foreign Ministry told the CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY that the CSCE foreign ministers meeting started in Rome on 30 November. The participants in the session, including U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, German Foreign Minister Kinkel, and the Russian, French, and Turkish foreign ministers, stressed the importance of retaining the territorial integrity of CSCE member countries, particularly Georgia, as well as the importance of human rights and many other issues which are included in the relevant documents of the CSCE.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher declared that we must widen our efforts to help the Georgian Government to achieve peace and stability. In the meantime we must secure territorial integrity and respect for human rights. [passage omitted]

Black Sea Ships Leave Poti at Georgia's Request

AU0312131593 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 2 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "The Ships Leave Poti"]

[Text] On 1 December the three Black Sea Fleet ships all left Poti. At the same time the Black Sea Fleet Commandant's Office was disbanded, even though just a few days ago Fleet Commander Admiral Eduard Baltin said at a briefing that it would be permanent.

It was stated at the press center of the Black Sea Fleet that the tasks entrusted to the Black Sea Fleet sailors had been carried out and that Georgia is finding the continued presence of these Black Sea Fleet ships and servicemen there no longer expedient. The Georgian side has formed a brigade for guarding the water area. It consists of Georgian ships only. It has also become known that the command of the Black Sea Fleet proposed that those Black Sea Fleet sailors, who were part of the peacekeeping mission in Poti, be regarded as participants in combat actions with all the relevant consequences. However, Ukraine has not agreed to that proposal.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Dec

LD0412071893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0609 GMT 4 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS the newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA comments on the forthcoming visit by the Russian president to the zone of a state of emergency in North Ossetia and Ingushetia. The visit, which will take place a week before the referendum on the draft new Russian constitution, suggests that the president has serious apprehensions the republics of the northern Caucasus will quietly sabotage the constitution of not openly reject it, which might be used as a pretext for another conflict between the federal powers and local authorities.

The newspaper carries an interview with chairman of the Russian state committee for sanitary-epidemiologic surveillance Yevgeniy Belyaev and chief of the sanitation surveillance department Vladimir Cheburayev. Belyaev pointed out that the sanitary-epidemilogic situation in Russia had worsened, saying that an epidemic of diphtheria had broken out in 1993. A total of 7,628 diphtheria cases have been reported over the past nine months and 300 diphtheria victims died.

In Belyaev's opinion, the immune system of the people has weakened because of poor nutrition. Another reason for the epidemic is the reluctance of medical personnel to vaccinate the population for fear of possible after-effects and individual intolerance of the vaccine.

Pelyaev believes that "it will be possible to radically change the situation," i.e. to vaccinate all the population, only by the end of 1994. For his part, Cheburayev insists on creating adequate legislation without which it will be impossible to change the attitude to environmental protection and human health.

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes with reference to experts of a Russo- American press centre, who analysed 143 television programmes and 35 hours of radio broadcasts devoted to parliamentary elections, that the first results of the coverage of the election campaign by radio and television put into question a possibility of equal access to the mass media. Representatives of the Russia's Choice bloc, including Yegor Gaydar and other members of the bloc, were given more air time than candidates of other blocs.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA daily carries an article entitled "Cold Heads Shall Be Replaced by Clean Hands", saying that the newspaper has "a kind of a working plan of the reorganisation" of the Russian Security Ministry at its disposal, although it was earlier reported that the ministry had denied rumours of its reorganisation.

The newspaper says that in accordance with the plan, the main goal of the reform is to turn the Security Ministry into an efficient intelligence service on the one hand and an informational, analytical and forecast service, on the other, which demands tough cleansing of the Security Ministry...

The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA highlights reports alleging that a contract under which former Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy was an owner of the Trade Links Ltd. company, was established to have been faked. The fact was confirmed by a team of investigators from the Moscow prosecutors office who recently visited Switzerland.

Carries Review of 5 Dec Itogi

LD0612080893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0628 GMT 6 Dec 93

["Sunday Night Television Programmes Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 6 ITAR-TASS—The Sunday night issues of two weekly television analytical news programmes—Itogi and Voskresenye centred around the elections for the federal assembly and the referendum on a new Russian constitution, both of which are scheduled for the same day, December 12. Neither programme presented the results of any public opinion surveys, which usually evoke considerable interest and throw new light on the developing situation: The Central Electoral Commission forbade such publications from December 2. Hardly any of the candidates for Russia's new parliament is now perfectly sure of his leadership for a simple reason that Russia's history knows no precedent of elections carried out in accordance with a very complicated procedure in such a confusing situation, according to Sergei Alexeyev, the anchor of Voskresenye.

"Many observers believe that the outcome of the elections depends to a considerable degree on the rural voters who were not favoured by opinion polls in the weeks preceding the ban on such polls. Much will depend also on the voters in the military-industrial complex whose interests are jeopardised by the social and economic reform in Russia and on the voters in the Russian provinces," Yevgeny Kiselev of Itogi said. He is not wrong because 38 per cent of all Russian voters live in a countryside, but "because of neglect, the elections in rural areas may turn up quite unexpected and unpredictable results".

"There is no doubt that the turnout will be highest among the military in Russia. Ninety-five per cent of the Russian Army's two- million-strong personnel are expected to come to the polls. It is much more difficult to forecast in whose favour they will cast their ballots", Itogi said. "The servicemen will probably vote for the forces which are capable of ensuring stability in society", said Major-General Nikolay Radul, deputy chief of the Defence Ministry's working group in charge of the election campaign. No electioneering is permitted in the Army. "The military leadership is effectively following the principle that the Army is outside politics," the Itogi anchor said in his comment. "In any case during the

electoral campaign. And although 30 servicemen are running for seats in the federal assembly, Defence Minister Pavel Grachev himself declined to be nominated".

"I am seriously concerned about the communists' opposition to the Constitution and the Agrarian Party's stance in defence of the feudal collective- and state-farm system," said Aleksandr Yakovlev in an interview with Itogi. "I see in this a real danger of creeping parliamentary revenge-seeking," Yakovlev said in response to a question about the results of the elections. This prominent politician and public figure, who turned seventy last week, appeared also on Voskresenye. "I am in favour of Russia having a constitution now. This will help us find other criteria and live in a new dimension, as well as understand that one, and probably the most difficult roads we have to traverse is the road leading to obedience to law in our traditionally semi-anarchic country.

"The pre-election fever on television and radio has achieved its climax," Itogi said in discussing organisational matters associated with the procedure of the elections. "The state-run television aired 81 election-related advertising programmes in the past two weeks. Two-thirds of this number were broadcast last week. "According to foreign observers monitoring televised debates of candidates for the federal assembly, the state-owned television is not playing fairly," Itogi said. Statistics accumulated by the Russian-American information press centre reveals that the candidates of pro- government blocs are given much more air time than their opponents. Yegor Gaydar is in the lead on Ostankino television—62 minutes on the air. The Yavlinskiy party which is most popular among the voters according to the latest polls, is one of the last in broadcasting: Out of 68 candidates who are appeared on television and radio in the past two weeks Yavlinskiy ranks fifty-fifth in this respect.

Nuclear weapons in Ukraine was highlighted in Itogi. Forty-two per cent of Ukrainians favour their republic's nuclear status with very few people opposing it, according to an opinion poll cited by Itogi. "The nuclear weapons in Ukraine are a kind of a litmus paper which makes clear to what extent the West and above all Russia, are serious and attentive to the fact that Ukraine is putting itself on the map," said commentator Aleksandr Tkachenko. "Both the West and Russia could have demonstrated a little bit of goodwill, just a little, by meeting Kiev halfway which would have helped Ukraine feel a welcome guest to this planet instead of a poor relative. Moreover, it is time to show flexibility in understanding a new vision of the world after the disintegration of the last empire instead of claiming a mandate to peacekeeping in adjacent countries".

Russia's economic revival was in the focus of the Voskresenye report about the organisation of the All-Russia Automobile Alliance. Thirty-five per cent of Russian people are ready to invest their money in this alliance which plans to develop a popular car, affordable and simple to drive and maintain. Mercedes and General Motors have announced their willingness to participate in the project.

U.S. Envoy Views Results of Energy Accord Meeting

LD0312164793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—An oil and gas framework agreement which provides for two billion dollars in credit from the United States Export-Import Bank for businesses in Russia's energy industry should significantly increase the possibilities for U.S.- Russian cooperation. This is how the American Ambassador to Russia, Thomas Pickering, summarized the results of a three-day special conference on financing that agreement.

The conference and a parallel American exhibition "Neftegaz USA- 93" concluded their work in Moscow on Friday.

The great interest in this agreement show[illegible] the modern technology used by the U.S. oil and g[illegible]stry could give the equivalent Russian industry a s[illegible]icant boost in its attempts to reequip itself. The agreement would provide credit for Russian purchases of American equipment.

Expl[illegible]ining the complex mechanism for actually receiving the U.S. two billion dollar credit, Eugene Lawson, the president of the US- Russian Business Council said the first contracts concluded under that agreement will be put into effect in the beginning of next year. The fact that during the exhibition Russian oil firms, after getting acquainted with American production, already concluded more than ten agreements on equipment deliveries, serves as the basis for such optimism. However, Lawson noted, one should not forget that all the details of the proposed projects need to be worked out in detail, or else the credits will not be available in full force.

The Russian-American agreement is an attempt to move away from state-guaranteed foreign credits to a self-repaying system based on implementing specific deals, Vice-President of the CIS-USA Trade and Cooperation Council Nikolay Zhdanov said.

Basically, he explained, the U.S. Government financial institution, represented by the Export-Import Bank, guarantees U.S. oil-processing equipment manufacturers that they will be able to sell their products to their Russian partners as long as certain conditions are met. These conditions are applicable to all the deals concluded under the framework agreement.

It is also important that this aid is directed towards the fuel sector, which is vital for the Russian economy. Russian production of coal, oil and gas will increase, while the production facilities will be technically updated at the same time.

The agreement's extremely complex conditions for concluding deals must be considered one of its faults. The two sides, however, agreed to simplify these procedures.

Nikolay Zhdanov said that the creation of investment consortiums by companies and countries which are potential purchasers of Russian energy is a possible field for future cooperation.

Paper: Clinton Wins Support for Joint Space Station

PM0612103793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Nadein report: "President Clinton Told Our Cosmonauts: 'Let's Go!'..."]

[Text] Washington—For probably the first time in Bill Clinton's presidency the opinion of the administration and representatives of both parties in both chambers of Congress was enshrined in a word that was once familiar to us, but extremely rare in the U.S. political vocabulary—"unanimity." This "unanimity" concerned a question that has recently caused plenty of disagreements—the joint U.S.-Russian space station development program.

Since 1987, when the idea of a series of promising orbital dockings first began to be discussed in earnest, events have taken a pulsating course that can be described by the saying "make haste slowly."

Only last Tuesday U.S. Vice President Gore said that the "final barrier has fallen." Having invited to the White House congressmen from both chambers who were more vehemently opposed to the project than others, the President was able within the hour to infect all his interlocutors with his enthusiasm or, at least, change the mind of the dissenters.

But however weighty a say politics has, it was the economy that had the major say. Or, to be more precise, the quality of the actual "Russian commodity." Four countries are involved in this international project. The United States bears the main burden: It is doing a great deal and is paying for virtually everything. Japan and Canada are the junior partners. Neither country is doing very much or paying out very much.

As for Russia, its technical, scientific, and organizational contribution approaches that of its U.S. counterpart, but it is not paying for anything.

Hence the fundamental objections. First, skeptics claim that Russia is too weak economically and cannot be relied upon in a long-term program. Second, space is controlled by the military-industrial complex, where a fresh attack of anti-Americanism is possible.

However, the President, who said that he is delighted to back Russia's participation, had an exceptionally weighty argument. If the United States tries to do

without Russia's "Mir" station (or Russian involvement in developing a similar station), it will waste two years and $2 billion.

There was also palpable opposition in Russia to this kind of cooperation with the United States. Influential forces advocated continuing Russian-U.S. confrontation in space—if not verbally then in effect. President Yeltsin had to personally intervene in order to avert a potentially dangerous conflict over sales of missile technologies to India.

Incident Involving Envoy in U.S. Capital Reported

MK0412110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 87, 3 Dec 93 (Signed to press 2 Dec) p 3

[Irina Grudinina report in the "Embarrassment" column: "Our Diplomat Did Not Knock Anyone Down. He Only Tried To 'Identify the Badge Number' of a U.S. Female Officer"]

[Text] A Russian diplomat's attempt to park his car in an inappropriate place has nearly resulted in an international scandal. This was reported by THE WASHINGTON TIMES. Everything began when the Russian diplomat tried to prevent a female officer of the District of Columbia administration from writing out a ticket for illegal parking, allegedly knocking her down. The employee started shouting, calling on passers-by for help. Three city police patrol car arrived on the scene of the incident.

According to Linda Grand, a representative of the public works department responsible for enforcing parking rules, the case was dismissed owing to "insufficient evidence of assault." As for the "victim" herself, after learning that the offender was an official from the Russian Embassy, she waived her claims. Russian Embassy representative Vladimir Derbenev, who refused to disclose the diplomat's name, said that "there has been no incident. There was only an attempt to identify the badge number of a female officer."

Had this charge been sustained, a person enjoying diplomatic immunity would have faced immediate expulsion from the country. The incident marks yet another round in the dispute between the Russian Embassy and the D.C. authorities over $3.8 million which the Russians owe for illegal parking of embassy cars. Under an amendment to the Foreign Aid Act adopted on 28 September, the Russian Government is obligated to pay this debt of the Soviet Union. The sum is to be subtracted from the U.S. aid to the Russian Federation which this year will amount to $2.5 billion. According to Senator Jesse Helms, the diplomats of several countries owe the U.S. State Department more than $6 million in unpaid fines. "The Congress must make sure that diplomats, especially those representing countries which are receiving aid, obey the rules of our capital," he stated.

The Russian Government holds a fundamentally different position on this issue and refuses to pay for former Soviet employees. It also points to the fact that U.S. diplomats in Russia do not pay for parking in Russia.

Official Urges 'Reciprocity'

PM0612115193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Russian Embassy in Washington Expects Help from Mayor Luzhkov"]

[Excerpts] Washington—Russian diplomats in the United States will soon find themselves in an extremely difficult situation if the Moscow city authorities do not come to their aid, according to representatives of the Russian consular services in Washington.

A State Department representative has said that her department will not issue diplomatic licence plates to representatives of countries which are behindhand with the payment of fines imposed by the traffic police. This decision also applies to New York, where around 70 foreign consular services and 166 UN missions are located.

The Soviet Embassy [as published], which is sited closer to the White House than all the other missions, can only accommodate five or six cars on its tiny parking lot, while space is needed for around 30 vehicles. The rest have to be paid for, and the prices for parking are such that it costs more than the cars themselves. [passage omitted]

One consular service leader said that "the city is still waging the 'cold war' against us," meaning the refusal to give the Russians more diplomatic parking spaces.

The Moscow authorities, however, are overobliging to the American Embassy in Moscow. "Mayor Luzhkov has assigned the U.S. Embassy a first-rate spot for diplomatic parking, while we are often fined even on our official tiny parking lot," another Russian diplomat said. In his opinion, the principle of reciprocity, without which foreign representatives of a country are to a large extent defenseless, should be observed.

The likelihood of difficulties occurring in the Russian Embassy's operation is increasing. Given this, the Russian Foreign Ministry's lack of tactics worked out in advance is becoming increasingly galling, while the need for joint action with the Moscow city authorities is becoming increasingly pressing.

Zorin on U.S. Restrictions on Trade Links

LD0512103693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin—read by announcer]

[Text] Next an item contributed by Valentin Zorin. Washington says it is most certainly speeding up the approval of economic aid to Russia. As for acting on its word, Washington, in spite of its verbal declarations,

keeps effective a system of discriminatory restrictions on trade and economic relations in general with Russia. Even the recent decision by the United States Congress to do away with the residue of the Cold War period has so far remained on paper.

I am wondering why this is so, questions Valentin Zorin. Why is the nation of highly accurate business people showing such inaccuracy and surprising disrespect of its own pledges? The possible backsliding of the well-oiled state machine or random circumstances must be discarded as an appropriate explanation. What, then, explains this surprising state of affairs? The only answer I can find to this question is that sufficiently powerful and influential forces in Washington may, apparently, be interested in moves to torpedo normal economic relations between their country and Russia. I would say they represent the business world rather than politics. Some business people would want to rule out the possibility of competing against Russia on the international market place. So the idea that Russia has only raw materials to sell has gained popularity in the American business circles.

Defense corporations shudder if Russia offers for sale aircraft or space high tech. Let me give you an example of this. A few days ago an exhibit of Russian innovations in medical equipment was held near the federal capital. The U.S. experts discovered that Russian- made titanium heart valves are much better than similar ones produced in the United States. The medical school of the Richmond University found out, however, that the acquisition of Russian-made medical equipment is hindered by a system of bureaucratic rules and regulations. This makes only one of the dozens, if not hundreds, of latest examples.

It is obvious that such an approach will not do. Economics-wise, an artificially created system of bureaucratic rules and regulations serves, in the long run, to damage the United States as much as Russian interests. In terms of politics, it is obvious that normal relations, let alone partnership, between the United States and Russia will be infeasible as long as the United States sticks to a Cold War approach toward trade, and this very approach is presenting a threat now that supporters of freedom and democracy and the forces that would like to turn the clock back are locked in fierce political confrontation in Russia. Opportunism on the part of U.S. business people must not prevail over the United States' long-term interests.

Envoy Criticizes Ukrainian Stance at CSCE Talks

LD0312152493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1151 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—The Rome session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the CSCE member-countries adopted good documents designed to turn the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in an effective instrument for settling regional crises, a high-ranking Russian diplomat told ITAR-TASS today.

He said it was noteworthy that the final documents—the communique and resolutions of the conference—stressed the role of the CSCE informing European security and stability structures. He also noted that the decisions of the Rome forum reflected the initiatives put forth by the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev.

The Russian diplomat singled out the declaration on aggressive nationalism, according to which the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe pledges to counter act this dangerous threat which lies at the source of many conflicts.

The Rome conference considered a set of military documents prepared by the Vienna forum for cooperation in the field of security. The Russian diplomat said that the package of these documents including such important provisions as Russia's proposal for nuclear nonproliferation. However, despite substantial talks, the position of Ukraine reduced all the formulas of this important document to near zero. Kiev sought to emascul ate the final document on this matter and turn it into mere verbiage. The Ukrainian delegation demonstrated its reluctance to agree to any compromise solutions to this problem. For this reason, the Russian delegation moved to return the entire package of military proposals to the Vienna group for further work, because it would be illogical to adopt such a major document without relevant provisions concerning the danger of spreading nuclear weapons.

Participants in the Rome conference entrusted experts to finalise the entire package of documents and submit it to the committee of senior officials next March.

The main thing, according to the Russian diplomat, is that we consider all these proposals together. On the whole, the responsibility for the failure to approve the package of documents on security should be taken fully by Ukraine. Nonetheless, the diplomat pointed out that the chief result consists in the fact that the problem was submitted for consideration of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and our partners showed an understanding of the issue. Ukraine's nonconstructive stance prevented the conference from adopting a very good document on this most important problem.

Participants in the CSCE conference in Rome examined and approved other Russian proposals, above all those concerning the need to strengthen the status of the supreme commissioner for national minorities and step up the CSCE's assistance to Russia's peace-making efforts.

Moscow, Ottawa Differ on Ukrainian Arms

PM0312170193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Maksim Yusin article: "Russia Will Be Unable To Carry Out Peacemaking Operations Under the CSCE Flag. Moscow Has Met with the West's Understanding But Strong Opposition from Its Former Warsaw Pact Allies and Its Former Neighbors in the USSR"]

[Text] The Rome meeting of the foreign ministers of the 53 CSCE member countries ended unsuccessfully for Russian diplomacy. The efforts of Andrey Kozyrev, who tried to convince his colleagues of the need to grant the Russian troops in hot spots of the former USSR the status of CSCE peacemaking forces, proved to have been in vain. The final document of the session mentioned Moscow's proposal in passing: Examination of the question has been deferred until better times.

Not that there was anything surprising in this. Because all CSCE decisions are adopted on a consensus basis and some of Russia's neighbors have not concealed their skeptical attitude to its initiative, there was little chance from the outset that Kozyrev's idea would be reflected in the session documents.

Something else did come as an unpleasant surprise to the Russians—the opposition encounted by their initiative proved far greater than expected. The granting of peacemaking functions to Russian soldiers was opposed not only by Ukraine, Estonia and other republics of the former Union (which, in principle, was predicted), not only by East European countries (which are jealous of any strengthening of Russian influence), and not only by Turkey (which regards Russia as its main geopolitical rival in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia) but also by states which Moscow hardly expected to play a dirty trick—Canada and Norway, for example.

Kozyrev might be consoled by the fact that leading Western countries have once again shown understanding of Russian interests. The United States, France, Britain, Germany, and Italy supported the Kremlin, albeit with certain nuances.

By seeking the status of peacemakers for its troops in Tajikistan, Georgia, and the Dniester region (and maybe somewhere else tomorrow), Russia is trying to resolve several tasks at once. First, to lend legitimacy to its military presence in "nearby countries." Second, to secure political and, if possible, also financial support for carrying out peacemaking operations there. Third, to share with the world community responsibility for the failures which frequently attend Moscow's efforts to prevent bloodshed in neighboring states (Abkhazia being the most graphic example).

Since the UN Charter prohibits the involvement in peacemaking operations of states which have special interests in the zone of conflict, it remains for Moscow to appeal to the CSCE. Particularly as the United Nations anyway lacks the funds to send its own troops to hot spots in the former USSR. It hardly makes sense to transfer Nigerian or Honduran contingents to somewhere that Russian units are already stationed and are, in the majority of instances, fulfilling the same functions as UN "blue helmets."

The Western powers are prepared to agree with Moscow's arguments. But it is not that easy to convince Russia's neighbors of the purity of the Kremlin's intentions. The speech by Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste was one of the most resolute. He accused Russia of pursuing a policy in respect of neighboring states which has nothing in common with peacemaking activity. "We oppose a new repartitioning of Europe; we are against a new Yalta," Velliste declared.

The practically complete unity between Moscow and the West on the question of Ukraine's nuclear status was a positive result of the Rome meeting for Russian diplomacy. The debate on this subject was opened by Kozyrev, who leveled unusually harsh criticism at Kiev in his speech. "Contrary to the pledges which it adopted," the Russian minister said, "one of the CSCE states has officially announced its possession of nuclear weapons." In Kozyrev's opinion, this could cause a chain reaction and take Europe back to Cold War times.

The Americans, French, British, and Germans expressed their full solidarity with the Russian position. Canada was the only Western country to declare its "understanding of Ukraine's fears" in not wishing to hand over nuclear missiles to Russia. Just as on the issue of the peacemaking forces, Ottawa and Moscow once again found themselves in different camps. To all appearances, the new government of the Land of the Maple Leaf has decided to take into account in its foreign policy the opinion of the 600,000-strong Ukrainian "diaspora"—which does not presage an unclouded future for Russian-Canadian relations.

Yeltsin Welcomes Creation of Ukraine Humanitarian Fund

LD0612104293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0959 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 6 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent greetings on Monday to the chairman of the board and simultaneously president of the International Fund for Humanitarian and Economic Ties With Russia, Vitold Fokin. The text of the president's message to the fund, recently created in Ukraine, follows:

"Dear Vitold Pavlovich,

I was very happy to learn about the creation in Ukraine of the Fund for Humanitarian and Economic Ties With the Russian Federation.

Our peoples have lived in friendship and close cooperation from time immemorial. Now that Russia and

Ukraine are looking for new paths into the future, cooperation between us is more than ever necessary.

I think that your fund can do a lot of good, uniting its efforts with the Fund for Humanitarian and Economic Cooperation With Ukraine that is now in the process of being formed in Russia. Contact between the citizens of our countries and the development of Russian-Ukrainian economic relations and ties can bring practical benefit to our people.

I congratulate you and all the participants in the Ukrainian Fund on its opening. I wish you much success.

With deep faith in friendship between Russia and Ukraine."

Observers Refer to Ukraine 'Nuclear Blackmail'

LD0312162193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The mass media continue to follow with great attention the development of the economic and political situation in Ukraine. Today they quote Jacques Sapiro, well-known French expert on the former USSR. He notes that Ukraine now must make the choice of either drawing closer to Russia or facing economic collapse which could result in the separation of the eastern part of the republic.

Observers today note that the state's leaders wish to use nuclear blackmail to force the Americans and Russians to pay the maximum price for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory. President Kravchuk stated at a conference of parliamentarians of countries of the Black Sea basin that Ukraine regards the nuclear weapons of the former USSR on its territory as material wealth and has the full right to demand compensation for giving up these weapons. That is, it is directly appropriating the legacy.

But at the same time all interested sides understand very well that Ukraine will not be able to use these weapons in the near future and possibly will never be able to. So, the latest attempt to improve the economic position with the help of nuclear warheads is hardly likely to be successful. The situation is now forcing Ukraine to alter its foreign policy course.

By the way, ITAR-TASS reports from Rome where the meeting of the Council of CSCE Foreign Ministers has just ended that, in spite of all the talks which have taken place, Ukraine's stance has cancelled out all the proposed wordings of the document which has been prepared on cooperation in the security sphere. Kiev tried to emasculate the final document on this question - the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons - and essentially turn it into an empty shell. It is noted that the Ukrainian delegation demonstrated that it was not prepared to reach any compromises on this problem.

Slovak Minister Asked To 'Mollify' Ukraine's Nuclear Policy

AU0312193093 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 93 p 13

[TA SR report: "Will Slovakia Mollify Ukraine?; Moscow Communicated to Imrich Andrejcak Its Reservations About Kiev's Policy"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak yesterday concluded his two-day official visit to Russia and returned home. Yesterday he held another round of talks with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and with First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vitaliy Churkin.

As the TA SR correspondent learned from reliable sources, during the meeting, the Russian side asked Slovakia to adopt certain measures to influence the nuclear policy of Ukraine, which conditionally ratified the START I treaty last week. Kiev demands security guarantees from nuclear powers, primarily Russia and the United States, as well as financial compensation for the scrapped nuclear arsenal.

Minister Imrich Andrejcak said in this context, among other things, that Moscow "considers an increase in the number of members of the club of nuclear weapons inappropriate and disadvantageous for Russia. It took note of this position and will inform the government about it, but I did not consider it necessary to react to it in any way." He drew attention to the fact that, during his visit to Kiev in late October, the Ukrainian side assured him that "Ukraine would be a nuclear-free state in the future." [passage omitted]

WEU Warning Against 'Hasty Expansion of NATO' Noted

PM0312110193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3

[Manki Ponomarev report: "WEU Participants Synchronize Their Watches"]

[Text] With the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty, a major landmark on the road to the economic and political integration of the 12 West European states, the role of their military-political alliance—the Western European Union [WEU]—which has already risen appreciably over the last few years, is increasing still further. It is increasingly becoming the defense organization of the EC, closely linked with NATO, but autonomous from that bloc. In present-day conditions the WEU's task is to outline, coordinate, and implement the EC countries' policy in the military sphere and in the sphere of ensuring security.

The increase in the role of the WEU was palpably demonstrated by the 39th session in Paris of the Union assembly—the organization's supreme organ (comprising all the EC countries barring Denmark and Ireland,

which have observer status). The session examined general questions of European security, problems of relations between the WEU and NATO on the eve of January's upcoming summit-level session of the North Atlantic Council, and the development of links with East Europe, as well as the prospects for expanding the Union. The quest for ways and means of settling regional conflicts, particularly in Bosnia, and questions of improving cooperation between the WEU, the United Nations, the CSCE, and other international organizations in this sphere occupied a special place in the debates.

The session emphasized that Europe needs effective instruments to avert and settle conflicts. It was, moreover, noted that armed interference cannot be the best means of resolving problems. At the same time it was decided that the WEU must have at its disposal a range of both political and military means of overcoming crisis situations and preserving peace.

The session participants opposed a hasty expansion of NATO by admitting East European countries. The assembly's resolution says bluntly that it is premature to even raise the question of these countries' being given security guarantees that imply full-fledged membership of the North Atlantic alliance. This resolution constitutes a serious warning from WEU members on the eve of the NATO summit meeting. The idea was also voiced that a reliable system of European or Atlantic security cannot be created without defining the place that Russia and the other CIS republics should occupy in it.

It was easy to see that not all the speakers at the session's sittings displayed total unanimity. Thus, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner dropped an extremely transparent hint to WEU representatives that there is "no need or opportunity" to create a military structure in West Europe to compete with NATO. In his view, the WEU's main function is just to be the pillar of the North Atlantic bloc in Europe. But he did not rule out the idea that mobile multinational troop formations created from existing structures within the NATO framework could be handed over to WEU control to perform the tasks of settling conflicts.

The 39th session of the WEU Assembly can be generally described as an attempt by the Union's participants to synchronize their watches and determine their future course in Europe after the Cold War.

Moscow: Lithuania-Kaliningrad Trade Accord Invalid

LD0412184493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Russia says Lithuanian-Kaliningrad Oblast free trade agreement is invalid]

[Text] The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry has informed the Lithuanian Government that the agreement between Lithuania and Kaliningrad Oblast on free trade signed 19 July 1993 is invalid, according to a report in the newspaper RESPUBLIKA. Nikolay Obertyshev, Russian ambassador in Vilnius, told the newspaper that the agreement that was signed contradicts Russian legislation because the oblast is not subject to international law. The leadership of the department for economy of the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed that the signing of the agreement was illegal.

Spokesman Requests Mercy for Dniester Rebels

LD0312163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1500 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Russia continues to exert efforts to solve the issue of the "Ilasku Group" and does not lose hope for a favourable outcome of the problem, spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing on Friday in connection with reports that the prosecution at the trial of the group in the breakaway Dniester region of Moldova demanded a death sentence to three of the accused.

The spokesman recalled that Russia had several times called on Kishinev and Tiraspol to show mercy to all those arrested during the armed conflict in the Dniester region. "Our position was reflected in official communique on the meetings of Boris Yeltsin and Mircea Snegur in May and September", he said and added that Russia and Moldova had jointly called on Tiraspol to hand over the accused to Kishinev.

Official Optimistic on Dniester Resolution

LD0312163993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1314 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshey and Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec—The visit by Nikolay Medvedev, special representative of the Russian Federation president to Moldova, which has just ended, and during which he met the leadership of the Republic of Moldova and the Dniester region, "inspires one with cautious optimism" with regard to settling the Dniester conflict. This was stated at a briefing today by Grigriy Karasin, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department.

He noted that it is too early yet to arrive at unequivocal forecasts concerning a settlement of the Dniester conflict. "The final settlement without doubt depends upon the sides showing goodwill and readiness for compromise," Grigoriy Karasin stressed.

Italian Foreign Minister Discusses Relations

PM0312101593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta by RIA-NOVOSTI correspondent Aleksey Khazov; place and date not given; "specially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI" under the "View From the Sidelines" rubric: "Between Rome and Moscow"]

[Text] [Khazov] Minister, what in your view are the main trends in the development of political and diplomatic relations between Russia and Italy over the past two years? Moscow rates them extremely highly, stressing in particular that the existing bilateral treaty is "one of the most progressive diplomatic acts of modern times." Do you agree?

[Andreatta] A high degree of stability and constancy is characteristic of Russian-Italian relations. Indeed, our countries' interests coincide in many spheres, and that protects relations between them from the upheavals of a troubled international actuality. At the same time cooperation between Rome and Moscow is an important contribution to maintaining stability in Europe and a model which other states strive to follow.

The bilateral Treaty on Friendship perfectly reflects the high quality of the level of cooperation achieved and indicates the possibility of the further enrichment of Italian-Russian relations. If only for the reason that this treaty is a document of great potential force, and also a valuable guideline to the development of bilateral relations in all spheres.

[Khazov] Are there prospects for intrinsically new forms of this cooperation?

[Andreatta] Yes, there is cooperation in the sphere of ecology, the battle against drug trafficking and organized crime, and in the constitutional-legal sphere. Supplementing the traditional avenues of cooperation, these vectors are our common reply to the challenge of the modern, postindustrial world.

[Khazov] Does Italy intend to assist the development of democratic institutions in Russia?

[Andreatta] Undoubtedly. Above all it is a question of collaboration in the framework of the "Commission for Democracy Through the Rule of Law" founded in Venice under the aegis of the Council of Europe. Italy believes in the ability of Russia and its people to achieve step by step all the highest standards of democracy and freedom. The Italian government is convinced that Russia possesses the necessary potential to repulse attempts to return to the totalitarian past, a return desired only by nostalgic forces which constitute, and should constitute, a minority of the people.

In the light of the above, Italy, like other members of the European Union, assessed and readily accepted the Russian government's invitation to send observers on the occasion of the 12 December elections. We have no doubt that the "testimony" of Europeans to the propriety and democratic nature of the elections will help to play a part on the level of the further consolidation of democratic transformations in Russia. This in turn should be positively reflected not only in the conditions of Russians' lives but also in the prospects of security and cooperation in Europe.

[Khazov] What are the priorities in the joint actions of our diplomats in the framework of the United Nations, the CSCE, and other international organizations?

[Andreatta] The priority for us remains the search for ways of maintaining peace and stability in Europe and on other continents, defending the right of all countries, great and small, to security. The world has become too small now, and the stakes in the game too high to allow ourselves to pursue any goals other than international order based on values such as peace, democracy, freedom, and pluralism.

[Khazov] What can Russia and Italy do to resolve local conflicts in regions presenting mutual interest, for example, the Mediterranean?

[Andreatta] Local conflicts, which are almost always the consequence of long-term, well-known disputes, should as far as possible be settled before they reach an extremely dramatic phase of development. In this context the best form of cooperation, in our opinion, is "preventive diplomacy," enabling incipient crises to be steered into the channel of the political negotiating process in good time.

Chernomyrdin Comments on Eve of Visit To Italy

LD0512144393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1404 GMT 5 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Startsev]

[Text] Rome December 5 TASS—Following the tragic October events, new possibilities opened up for the development of democracy, the attainment of civil accord and further reforming of the country's economy, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said in response to Italian journalists' questions on the eve of his official visit to Italy. The visit, which begins on Monday, is believed to be a big event in Russo-Italian relations.

The leading Rome-based newspapers LA REPUBBLICA and CORRIERE DELLA SERA run the text of the interview on Sunday.

The current election campaign shows the vitality of young Russian democracy, Chernomyrdin emphasised. Evaluating the draft new constitution of Russia, he said "if this document helps reforms forward and if it promotes the revival of Russia on the basis of freedom and legality, it means that this is a democratic constitution."

It is so far early to say that people have begun to live better, the premier said. At the same time, summing up

some results of current reforms in Russia, he drew attention to the fact that over the past two years the government had managed to regain the earlier lost control over economic processes in the country.

The results of the first nine months of the current year show that the consumption of essential foodstuffs—meat, eggs, potatoes, vegetables, sugar, and bread—grew. True, the prices of the foodstuffs grow but in November the rate of inflation went down to 15-16 per cent, Chernomyrdin pointed out. "We expect to keep the rate of inflation at this level at the beginning 1994 and then lower it to five per cent", he said.

The Russian premier said millions of citizens of the country have become the owners of apartments and lands, which previously belonged to the state, and 60 per cent of industrial enterprises have been already privatised. In general, not all live better than before but prospects for a rise in people's living standards improve with every passing day, Chernomyrdin said.

Asked about Russia's foreign policy, the premier said Russia has no imperial ambitions. He said the development of relations between Russia and the European Union is one of the central problems in building a new Europe. The main task should be fully to integrate Russia into European economic space, he pointed out.

Speaking about the role of NATO in contemporary conditions, Chernomyrdin said Russia does not view the alliance as an opposing bloc.

In his view, NATO may now get new, broader functions, and not only in the military field. Interethnic conflicts, not East-West confrontation, now pose the main danger to Europe. "I do not think that NATO enlargement can contribute effectively to overcoming this new threat," Chernomyrdin said.

The Russian premier urged Italian businessmen to make investments in Russia. "Senores, do not miss the opportunity. Otherwise, you may be late for getting your share of the investment pie," Chernomyrdin cautioned.

Cancels Visit, Cites Illness

LD0512182693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1647 GMT 5 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Dec—The official visit to the Italian Republic by Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, is being postponed due to a kidney stone illness. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this at the Russian Federation Government press service.

According to the doctors treating him, Chernomyrdin is suffering kidney colic caused by an occlusive stone in the right kidney. Procedures to crush the stone have been carried out.

New mutually acceptable dates for the Russian prime minister's visit to the Italian Republic will be agreed through diplomatic channels, the government press service announced.

Undergoes Kidney Operation

LD0612115993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a release by the government's press service. This morning, Valentin Sergeyev, chief of the press service, visited the Central Clinical Hospital and met with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin who is there as a result of a worsening of a kidney stone complaint. Dmitriy Nechayev, the doctor treating him, said that an operation to break up Viktor Chernomyrdin's kidney stone was carried out on Saturday afternoon at the Academy of Medical Sciences' Urology Institute. The operation was conducted under Academician Nikolay Alekseyev. After this, Viktor Chernomyrdin felt considerably better and was transferred to the Central Clinical Hospital for follow-up treatment.

FRG Statement on Poltoranin Visit, Election Outcome

LD0312201293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1526 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn December 3 TASS—The Press and Information Department of the Federal Republic of Germany has released a statement here today which says as follows:

"Bernd Schmidbauer, state minister in the department of the German federal chancellor, received Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Center of Russia, in Bonn on Thursday.

The exchange of views between Bernd Schmidbauer and Mikhail Poltoranin covered a wide spectrum of various aspects of German- Russian relations and international problems of mutual interest, in particular the development of the situation in Russia.

In the light of the coming early parliamentary elections in Russia scheduled for December 12, Mikhail Poltoranin informed of the assessment of the outcome of the forthcoming elections which Russian President Boris Yeltsin gave to Federal Chancellor of Germany Helmut Kohl, namely that the forces orientating themselves towards the reforms would have a majority in the new parliament of Russia.

The new Constitution of the Russian Federation, Mikhail Poltoranin believes, will meet support of the majority of the population in the course of the oncoming referendum.

State Minister Bernd Schmidbauer again stressed that the German Government was interested in the success of democratic and market reforms in Russia and pointed out the aid and support which official Bonn had rendered the Russian leadership. This interest is seen in the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany sent its representatives to observe the course of the elections in Russia.

Both sides were of the same opinion that relations between Russia and Germany should further develop harmoniously and avoid possible complications.

State Minister Bernd Schmidbauer assured that the German Government was backing the aspiration of the Russian leadership to participate in the activities of European organizations. This also concerns to a great extent the conclusion of a treaty on partnership and cooperation between Russia and the European Union.

Participants in the talks noted the vital importance of the forthcoming visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Belgium, and a meeting of the head of the Russian state with leaders of the European Union in Brussels."

Security Minister Discusses Visit to Poland

PM0312154393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Viktor Shutkevich report: "What Was the Russian Security Minister Doing in Poland?"]

[Text] Warsaw—The Russian Federation security minister has been in Warsaw on a three-day working visit to Poland. On Wednesday journalists tried to ascertain the details at a press conference with Colonel General Nikolay Golushko. And the minister answered with all the sincerity characteristic of him: We were reaching agreement on closer collaboration between the special services of our countries in the fight against smuggling, the illegal transportation of drugs, and the illegal arms trade. This kind of collaboration is really vital today, since the mafia structures which are involved in such unsavory things have long since formed their international organization. A relevant agreement, signed by Russian Security Minister N. Golushko and Polish Internal Affairs Minister A. Milczanowski was the result of the visit.

[Question] Nikolay Mikhaylovich, newspapers here write almost every day about the Russian mafia in Poland. Can you cite a specific example of the actions of the international mafia on Russia's territory?

[Golushko] Yes, I can. At the beginning of the year, for example, we exposed a group of foreigners who were carrying over $1 million in counterfeit currency for circulation on the territory of Russia. And they had prepared a total of over 12 million for this purpose. Thanks to our operations in Italy, we managed to expose three underground printing works where forged notes were being issued. The Sicilian mafia was leading this, and we arrested four of its members. Citizens of other states, from both nearby and more distant foreign countries—Germany, Ukraine...were also arrested.

No doubt the container carrying two tonnes of hashish which was recently discovered by Polish customs officers on the border with Belarus also belonged to the international mafia.

[Question] How did our special services participate in this?

This question was answered by Anatoliy Trofimov, chief of the Russian Ministry of Security Administration for the Fight Against Smuggling and Corruption.

[Trofimov] It must be stated straight out that this operation was the work of our Polish colleagues. As the Russian security minister has already said today, so far we are only succeeding in stopping one-tenth of the contraband which is crossing the border. At the moment we are trying to ascertain how a container of narcotics could have crossed Russian territory unhindered.

"All in all, we missed it," the minister concluded laconically.

Well, let us say that the score in the duel between the Ministry of Security and the international mafia is a 1:1 draw at the moment. And let us hope that, thanks to the international cooperation of the special services, it will soon turn to our advantage. After all, this is not a question of goals, points, and seconds, but of our lives.

Iranian 'Warning' Against Pact With Kuwait Noted

PM0312131993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Tehran Unhappy About Agreement Between Kuwait and Russia"]

[Text] Iranian state radio has broadcast a commentary warning Kuwait against concluding military pacts with states located outside the Near East region.

Tehran is extremely unhappy about the military agreement signed between Russia and Kuwait in Moscow. In Tehran's opinion, agreements with "great powers" amount to interference in Kuwait's internal affairs and could cause conflict in neighboring countries.

Kuwait Seeks Assistance in Rebuilding Defense Forces

LD0312201193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1058 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Russia possesses all the necessary military technology to enable her to participate in the rebuilding of Kuwait's defences, said

Kuwait's Defence Minister, Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah. The defence minister just wound up his official visit to Russia on Friday.

Kuwait's top defence official met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Thursday. On november 29, Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and al-Sabah signed an inter-governmental agreement on defence cooperation.

Observers notice that Russian-Kuwaiti defence cooperation seems to be moving on the fast track. Kuwait established contacts with Russian officials with the aim of concluding a defence agreement in December 1992. Soon afterwards military delegations from the two countries held talks in Cairo to prepare the ground for an agreement.

General Grachev then visited Kuwait in the middle of February, 1993. The result of his visit was the signing of a memorandum on mutual aid between the two countries' defence ministries. This memorandum contained the basis for the agreement just signed in Moscow November 29.

The agreement calls for the two sides to exchange delegations, experience accumulated by the two military ministries, and arms information. It also provides for Russia and Kuwait to include liaisons officers in their respective embassies. Finally, the document provides for joint military maneuvers using Russian equipment. Kuwait will send a military group from its army to Russia for that purpose.

In may a Kuwaiti delegation examined Russian small arms and heavy artillery which would fit the emirate's needs. One of the Kuwaiti defence minister's goals during his present trip was to look at several types of military equipment and arms, especially in the anti-aircraft field.

According to the defence minister, Kuwait intends to focus on quality as it rebuilds its national forces. Therefore, it intends to train and equip its army in accordance with state-of-the-art technology. Kuwait's defence strategy calls for an army well- equipped with modern arms and possessing a high military potential. Kuwait intends to get the bulk of its supplies from western countries, on the basis of already-signed agreements with the U.S., Great Britain and France which cover purchases of armored vehicles, small arms, helicopters and anti-aircraft equipment.

Observers connect Kuwait's interest in Russian military technology with the November decision of the defence ministers of the countries in the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council to create a unified early-warning anti-air defence system.

During his visit, the Kuwaiti defence minister was present at a demonstration of Russia's s-300 and "Tor" M-1 anti-aircraft weapons systems. He also saw the Mi-8 and Mi-26 combat helicopters in action.

According to foreign experts, perhaps one billion of Kuwait's 12 billion U.S. dollar defence budget might be spent on purchases of Russian arms, including anti-aircraft and anti-missile weapons systems and combat helicopters.

Decline in Ties With Mongolia 'Bottomed Out'

PM0312154993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 7

[Correspondent Andrey Kabannikov article under the "Mongolian Diary" rubric: "A Parliament for the Descendants of Genghis Khan"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar-Beijing—When an edict combating alcoholism was promulgated a month ago in Mongolia, local wits conjectured that the onset of perestroyka could soon be expected to follow. Their waspishness was clearly aimed at the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], the only party in the postcommunist world which in pluralist conditions has not only been able to retain the status of a ruling party but has not even changed its name, remaining the "Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party."

"What is there to change?" MPRP General Secretary Dash-Yondon said to me. "Retaining our name is a sure sign that our consciousness remains steadfast. On the other hand the whole country has changed. And in this respect we may be in front of Russia. We have held multiparty elections and a democratic constitution has been adopted."

Mongolia has crashed into democracy like an overripe fruit without going through the perestroyka stage, in much the same way as it missed out the capitalist phase, as Marxist philosophers used to claim. The country has watched quite enough "Ostankino" and has had its fill of our newspapers. Otherwise how do you explain why several dozen hunger strikers on the square in front of Government House were able at the beginning of 1990 to force the resignation of the almighty MPRP Politburo, even granted that it clearly realized that it was doomed.

But the wind sown in Moscow was destined to reap a dust storm in Mongolia. The young opposition movement led by former students and postgraduate students from Soviet higher educational institutions should, according to all the rules of the game, have opened the country's eyes, pointed to the implacable enemy, and indicated the path leading to rapid and happy salvation. This path, as is customary in the absence of any clear-cut ideas for a program, became the slogan of the general national revival which filled the newly vacated iconostases with multiple images of Genghis Khan. The enemy, however, which bore responsibility for Buddha-forsaken Mongolia's poverty and isolation from the outside world, turned out to be Russia, much to the latter's surprise. And although this accusation was somewhat justified on the historical level, as a political slogan it smelled strongly of demagoguery. Ah, if only it had not been for Moscow, if only it had not been for the "disgraceful criminal policy of the communist colonialists"!

The independent newspaper ARDCHILAL-TAYMS [as transliterated], published in Ulaanbaatar, stated quite recently that "every Russian, starting with the Russian ambassador, should pay Mongolia $2,800." What for? For the socialist option and "the destruction of pasture land soil covering," for the Halhaiin Gol war and the replacement of the old script by the Cyrillic alphabet, for the livestock that went missing in calculations by collectivized herdsmen and livestock breeders, for the natural resources that were exploited, and for damage done to Mongolia's fauna and flora. A total of $392 billion. Yes, if the Russians leave, Mongolia will become a country of millionaires! At the beginning of 1991 deadly earnest discussions took place about guarding Russian specialists' houses with armored personnel carriers in order to protect them from possible mob attacks.

By that stage there was no particular need to hasten Russia's departure, except perhaps to play a game yielding political dividends. During the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, which coincided with the "heyday of Mongolian socialism," Mongolia cost us 3 billion transfer rubles [R] at a time when R1 "weighed in" at just over one dollar. Plus the free-gift facilities which adorned the whole of Ulaanbaatar, including an entire residential area. Plus free weapons for the Mongolian army and the upkeep of our own 100,000-strong Army group. The new Russian authorities did not wish to shoulder this burden, and the treasury was not up to the job.

The fall of the first "people's unity" coalition government headed by Byambasuren was caused by general disappointment that expectations had not been realized. The argument that the country would flourish following the departure of the Russians, who were eating Mongolia out of house and home, was exposed as an obvious absurdity. The loss of a sponsor of many years' standing has been felt down to the very last herdsman, who nostalgically remembers his Russian boots. The country that complained that it was being turned into a raw-materials appendage suddenly realized that it received timber and oil from Russia in exchange for goats and sheep, which nobody would accept anywhere else. Unfortunately for Mongolia, this severing of the umbilical cord, which in itself ran the risk of an unavoidable decline in production, coincided with the country's painful entry into the market.

Moreover it has become apparent that having to use Chinese flour and tea from now on —the taste of which, one local politician admitted to me, Mongolians just cannot get used to—is not the most unpleasant of these new sensations. At first the flood of Chinese traders who poured across the open border forced Mongolians to look at the map. Then there was an uproar when an official circular entered the public domain after its publication in neighboring Chinese Inner Mongolia. It claimed that Outer Mongolia was also an integral part of China. A booklet on the same topic entitled "The Secrets of Outer Mongolian Independence" published in Beijing with a print run of 50,000 copies really gave Ulaanbaatar the jitters. Mongolians recalled the slogans voiced on Tiananmen Square in 1989—"Return Outer Mongolia to the Motherland," and also Deng Xiaoping's promise to resolve the Mongolian question in his lifetime. Local press reaction has ranged from the moderately alarmed to the openly belligerent: "Twenty million Chinese are ready to storm into Mongolia and turn it into a Chinese province."

The Russian Army's departure has now already been interpreted in a different light. As far as the Mongolian Army is concerned, one specialist said, now that everything has become a question of money for the military and the treasury is empty it is in no position to maintain even a couple of tanks. Local military pilots are traveling with several crates of vodka and leather jackets to a plant in Novosibirsk to exchange them for spare parts. There is simply no other way of keeping their aircraft flying.

"Yes, we have made use of anti-Russian slogans in the political struggle," I was told a few months ago by one of Mongolia's new political leaders who had returned via Beijing from a trip around the United States, where he took part in a Republican convention. "But it is true that you have misunderstood us by leaving us to face the Chinese alone."

"But what is the difference in your view between Russian and Chinese colonialism?" I asked, not without a touch of irony.

"There is a big difference," he replied totally seriously: "After all, with you we remained Mongolian for 70 years. The Chinese will swallow us up and assimilate us within a decade."

In June last year the opposition, full of ambitious hopes, suffered a crushing defeat in the parliamentary elections.

"The people trusted what was familiar to them," Dash-Yondon said about this event. Just like the old days, the MPRP, which had renounced Marxism and appropriated national-democratic ideas and the market, won over 90 percent of the parliamentary seats by showing that the nomenklatura was still strong and appealing to voters' nostalgia. At the time these results astonished the whole world. It is true that a year later the MPRP fell victim to excessive overconfidence. In discussions about its candidate for the upcoming presidential election, the party signaled its preference for Tudev [name as transliterated], editor of the UNEN newspaper, rather than the "intractable" Ochirbat who had held the presidency since 1990 on the party's recommendation. This was a major gift to the opposition, which lacked a suitable candidate and immediately asked Ochirbat to stand. He agreed. The people again "trusted the devil they knew," and Ochirbat was elected president by a large margin over his rival; moreover, one-third of MPRP rank and filers voted for him.

This is how the current, rather unusual disposition of political forces came about.

Meanwhile the decline in Mongolian-Russian relations seems to have bottomed out, and it has become clear that Russia will be unable to leave Mongolia completely to an extent that both parties find mutually satisfactory. Commodity turnover, which dipped by 150 percent, has stabilized at $400 million a year and practically balanced out. Two of the largest joint mining production facilities have survived and are operating successfully—the mining and enriching combine at Erdenet, which is among the 10 best enterprises of its kind in the world, and "Mongolrostsvetmet" [nonferrous metals production facility], a backbone of the Mongolian economy and an important source of foreign currency income. For the time being it is quite obvious that, even if an extremely pragmatic and well thought-out approach were employed, Russia could still knock spots off any new partner seeking to court Mongolia. Because the country has several generations of Russian-speaking specialists whom we have trained; the technologies used are ours and there is a market that has grown accustomed to Russian goods; there are also countless natural resources which our geologists know more about than the Mongolians. Finally, the debt of 10 billion transfer rubles contracted by the Mongolians is our property, which must be administered sensibly with respect for a partner's value and real potential. Unfortunately, the Russian side is putting off discussion even of this basic issue, not to mention the multitude of decisions that are supposed to have been agreed recently but which are actually still up in the air. My interlocutors invariably complained that practically no major Russian politicians ever visit Ulaanbaatar. The last top-level visit here—strange to say—was in 1974.

During his visit to Moscow in January, Mongolian President Ochirbat suggested to Boris Yeltsin that relations should be actively established starting with a "clean slate." Although it seems that what went before should not be erased in toto.

Expeditionary Forces Not Going to Somalia

LD0312171693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0924 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—The press service of the Russian airborne expeditionary troops has categorically refuted reports of certain Western mass media alleging that batallions of the Tula Airborne Expeditionary Division will be sent to Somalia in the beginning of 1994 to replace peace keepers from the U.S.A. and the Federal Republic of Germany.

According to the press service, the servicemen of the division are mastering combat skills in accordance with the plan and placing major emphasis on training the newly drafted soldiers.

Because servicemen of two various drafts were demobilized simultaneously, the division got more draftees than usual, which now places an additional strain on the work of the officers.

At the same time, various airborne expeditionary units which arrived at the division's premises from various parts of Russia are training there in order to replace contingents of the U.N. peace keeping forces in Yugoslavia.

'Secrecy' on Space Technology Delegation India Visit

PM0312142593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Nikolay Paklin: "...Glavkosmos Comforts Spurned India"—last two paragraphs are unattributed report]

[Text] Delhi—The Russian Embassy in Delhi surrounded with secrecy the presence in India of a Glavkosmos [Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research] delegation headed by Aleksandr Dunayev.

People in India associate the Glavkosmos experts' visit with a definitive answer to the question of whether Russia will fulfill the rocket deal concluded between the former USSR and India on deliveries of cryogenic engines for Indian space rockets and the relevant technology. Moscow has made a number of contradictory statements about this. Some have maintained that, despite the pressure being exerted by the U.S. Administration, the rocket deal will be fulfilled. Others have maintained that Russia will fulfill it only in part, namely that it will supply the engines, but without the corresponding technology. India is insisting that the deal be fulfilled in full. Professor U.R. Rao, leader of the Indian space organization, has only been able to confirm that the sides will "discuss anew the contract to supply cryogenic engines." According to him, the results of the talks "depend on what the Russians are able to offer."

The initial reaction at the Russian Foreign Ministry to the question of whether the deal to supply India with cryogenic rocket engines and the relevant technology has been finally buried was as follows: "No comment."

Sources which asked not to be named reported subsequently that a search is currently being made for an acceptable formula which will make it possible not to harm Russia's economic interests and which, at the same time, will not affect its partners.

Political Issues

Yeltsin's Caucasus Trip Prompted by Constitution Worry

MK0412113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 1

[Liana Minasyan report under the "North Caucasus" rubric: "President in State of Emergency Area in Search of Compromises"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Apparently, it is not the meeting with representatives of the Ossetian and Ingush sides at the village of Chermen—the epicenter of the conflict—that will be the focal point of the president's trip this time; the president will only pay token attention to the problem, while nitty-gritty work will be left for the Provisional Administration. The president is not conducting his own electoral campaign, he is campaigning for the Constitution. This is why the meeting scheduled for 7 December—with chiefs of republics, krays, and oblasts of the North Caucasus—is of much greater importance to him. To all appearances, he has begun entertaining completely justified apprehensions that it is in the republics that the draft Fundamental Law will encounter quiet obstruction, if not active resistance. A constitution that has not been approved by Federation components may offer a pretext for yet another conflict—between the federal executive branch and local authorities. "Abolishing" republican leaders the way the federal parliament was dissolved would be at the very least unwise and fraught with skirmishes throughout Russia. Will the president be able, and, most importantly, will he be willing, to offer them a mutually acceptable compromise?

Security Official Previews Visit

LD0412151393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] Vice-Secretary of Russia's Security Council Valeriy Manilov has said that President Yeltsin is going to the region of conflict between Ossetians and Ingushs "to see everything for himself and try to find on the spot a comprehensive dexterous solution to the wholetangle of existing problems." In an exclusive interview with Interfax on the eve of Yeltsin's visit to North Caucasus, Manilov revealed that the president and Security Council members "are seriously concerned" at what is happening in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, where the bulk of the decisions, adopted to stabilize the situation in the region, have remained on paper.

He urged both sides "not only to extend each other the hands of peace but together with other nations put an end to national extremism."

"The president strongly wish that such a strategically important region as North Caucasus with about 50 ethnic groups would become an example of how the most complex and acute problems could be solved constructively. Essential for that is the civic and personal courage of not only the president but of all those involved in the conflict", Manilov said.

He regretted that the leaders of North Ossetia and Ingushetia were disinclined for compromise.

"They seem to be still confident that the issue can be solved by force. But this way is totally hopeless. Significantly, the leaders of both republics have from time to time been trying to blame the federal authorities for all troubles, considering that the republican problems must be dealt with in Moscow. That is absolutely abnormal because it makes the inner reserves, resources, and opportunities of the republics themselves unnecessary. Besides, all means and aid that the federal government provide prove useless because the leaders of North Ossetia and Ingushetia are unprepared for joint actions", he said.

Manilov described Chechnya as a mighty catalyst of crime in the region. Virtually all trains going through Chechnya are subjected to pillage. "Chechnya's authorities are either unable or unwilling to ensure safe railway traffic. This impunity and anarchy can spread across North Caucasus as a whole as an epidemic. Undoubtedly, all this can't help arousing much concern among the federal authorities", Manilov declared.

Yeltsin Leaves Moscow

LD0612060893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0543 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 6 December (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin set off by plane this morning for a working visit to the North Caucasus. After inspecting by helicopter the area of the state of emergency in the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, Boris Yeltsin will hold a meeting in the village of Chermen with representatives of settlements in North Ossetia's Prigorodniy rayon—the epicenter of the inter-ethnic conflict.

The Russian president will then meet the leadership of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Observers do not rule out that at the end of this meeting cardinal decisions on the settlement of the situation in the state of emergency zone will be made, particularly on a solution to the issue of refugees and on disarming illegal armed formations.

The Russian president will hold a meeting with the leaders of the republics, krays, and oblasts of the North Caucasus region in Nalchik on 7 December.

Yeltsin Changes Itinerary

LD0612130193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1134 GMT 6 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 6 Dec—Boris Yeltsin has altered the plan of his working visit to North Caucasus. After

holding a meeting in Chermen with representatives of the conciliation commissions of settlements of Prigorodnyy Rayon, the Russian president flew to Nalchik [capital of Kabardino-Balkaria].

Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the North Ossetian Council of Ministers, said that he does not know why Boris Yeltsin decided to do this. Khetagurov pointed out that at the meeting in Chermen the president declared his intention to instruct the relevant ministries and departments of Russia to guarantee until the spring the quartering of Ingush refugees in four settlements of Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia.

Yeltsin Signs Edicts on Various Issues

On Soviet Property Handover

PM0612101593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 5

[Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 2005 signed by President Yeltsin: "On Measures To Ensure Safekeeping of the Property of Soviets of People's Deputies"]

[Text] With a view to ensuring the organized transfer of the property and documents of the soviets of people's deputies to the newly established representative organs of state power, I decree that:

1. It shall be laid down that:

In the period between election day for deputies to the new representative organs of power until the organs begin work, the apparatus of soviets of people's deputies in krays, oblasts, cities of federal status, the autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrugs which have retained their powers until election day shall be led by the chairman of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies exclusively with a view to preparing for a more organized transfer of the property and documents of the defunct soviet of people's deputies to the new representative organ of power;

No change in the personnel or structure of the apparatus of soviets of people's deputies in krays, oblasts, cities of federal status, the autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrugs shall be permitted in the period until the new representative organs of power start work;

The buildings that housed soviets of people's deputies and their property in krays, oblasts, cities of federal status, the autonomous oblast, and autonomous okrugs shall be transferred to the new representative organs of state power.

2. This edict comes into force from the day of its publication.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 26 November 1993
No. 2005

On New State Airline

LD0412142193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1408 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—A decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin of December 3, 1993, formed a Russia state air company.

The company idea was suggested by heads and the labor collective of the separate civil aviation squadron of the Russian Ministry of Transport.

The Russia [as received] will cater to high-ranking officials and representatives of official delegations on presidential instructions.

On Creating Sochi Preserve

LD0612092493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0817 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 7 [date as received] TASS—President Yeltsin has signed a decree on the creation of the Sochi All-Republican State Natural Preserve. According to the press service of the Russian president, it was created on the basis of the Golovinskiy Republican State Zoological Preserve under the hunting department of the Krasnodar territory. The administration of the Krasnodar territory was assigned to examine a possibility of adding the lands of the Sochi state land reserve of the Adler district to the newly created preserve, and to work out its regime.

On Heads of State-Run TV

LD0612100593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0937 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 6 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed by decree Oleg Poptsov as chairman of the russian national state-owned television and radio company and Anatoliy Lysenko as general director of the same company.

This was announced today by the presidential press service.

On Raising Minimum Wage

LD0612110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1058 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 6 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree to raise minimal wages from December 1 at least 1.9 times to reach 14,620 roubles.

Increased scholarships to students in higher, secondary and primary vocational educational establishments and post-graduate students in higher schools and research institutes, as well as allowances and other benefits payable to individuals, will also be paid from December 1, 1993, in line with the rise in the minimum wage as established by the same decree.

The presidential decree went into force from December 1, 1993.

On Protecting Mass Media Freedom

LD0612114393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1112 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on measures to protect the freedom of mass media in the Russian Federation.

With the aim of preventing the establishment and funding of bodies and posts whose tasks or functions include censorship, the decree suspends the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies resolution of 29 March 1993 "On measures to insure the freedom of speech at state television and radio and at information services." The decree also suspends two Russian Federation Supreme Soviet resolutions, one of 15 July 1993 "On Federal Council for ensuring the freedom of speech at state television and radio", and one of 23 July 1993 "On privatization of state publishing houses, publishing and printing complexes and printing houses." The resolutions are suspended until appropriate decisions are made by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

The Russian president's news service told ITAR-TASS that the Council of Ministers has been instructed to submit proposals on improving Russian Federation legislation on mass media before 10 January 1994.

The new decree will be submitted for examination to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

On Regulating Industrial Groups

LD0612115293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1127 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—With the aim of ensuring structural reforming of the economy, speeding up scientific and technical progress, enhancing the export potential and the competitiveness of Russian enterprises and improving the management of the national economy under conditions of the privatization process, the president of the Russian Federation by his decree of December 5 approved the regulations on financial and industrial groups and the order of their establishment.

Bodies of the executive power, ministries and departments are commissioned to render necessary assistance in setting up financial and industrial groups in the process of privatization.

On Eurasian Coal, Metal Body

LD0612133393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1250 GMT 6 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Dec—President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin signed an instruction on the temporary use [rasporyazheniye o vremennom primenenii] of the agreement on creating an interstate Eurasian association of coal and metal.

The State Committee for Cooperation and the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry are instructed to carry out negotiations on this issue with the states' signatories of the interim agreement and devise a document appropriate to the agreement achieved. This was a report from the presidential press service to ITAR-TASS.

On Parliament Chambers

PM0612124593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "At the Center of Attention" rubric]

[Text] For the purpose of safeguarding the activity of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has decreed that the following be designated as sites for the location of the State Duma and Federation Council respectively: the complex of buildings in Moscow situated at 36 Novyy Arbat Street and the building situated at 26 Bolshaya Dmitrovka Street. In accordance with this same edict, the complex of buildings on Staraya Ploshchad, which is under federal ownership and which is being vacated by the Russian Federation Government-Council of Ministers, is to be made available to accommodate the Russian Federation Presidential Administration and the Central Electoral Commission.

Most Vorkuta Miners Start Strike 6 Dec

LD0612100093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Today 10 out of 13 mines in Vorkuta started striking. Coal workers in the Transbaykal region support the Vorkuta miners but will not take part in the strike. The Kuznetsk coal basin will decide its stance today.

Union Official Expects More To Join

LD0612110193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] A number of work forces in Vorkuta, Chelyabinsk, and Norilsk today joined the strike called by the Independent Union of Russian Mineworkers, the union's deputy chairman, Sultan Mamedov, told INTERFAX.

He said 12 out of 13 mines in Vorkuta are on strike. Meanwhile, an INTERFAX correspondent in Vorkuta was given different figures: 10 mines are on strike.

According to Sultan Mamedov, work forces in the town of Severouralsk, the mining and ore center of Sverdlovsk Oblast, will stop work on Monday night.

Mamedov said no positive outcome was achieved during last week's talks with a working group from the government inter-regional commission for socio-economic problems of Russia's coal mining areas.

Election Issues

Shumeyko Terms New Constitution Nation's Priority Issue

LD0312154893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1438 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, December 3 (ITAR-TASS)—"Today's priority is the adoption of a new Russian constitution, all other things are less important," Russian First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told a news conference here today.

The official called correspondents' attention to methods of the election campaign used by some candidates.

Several days ago Shumeyko, who is also head of the government commission for universal voting on the draft fundamental law, submitted an appeal to the Central Electoral Commission. The appeal focused on criticism of the draft fundamental law by the Communist and Democratic parties and demanded the annulment of their registration in the election campaign.

The information court of arbitration confirmed the right of candidates to decide on content of their pre-election speeches and voice their opinion on the draft constitution.

Shumeyko admitted the court resolution did not come as a surprise and said he aimed to attract attention to the draft discussion, which some deputies not "merely criticize but completely reject".

In his opinion, this non-constructive stand gives rise to a new confrontation in the future parliament. "By rejecting the fundamental law, a candidate opposes the very State Duma", stressed shumeyko.

Rejection of Shumeyko Call Viewed

PM0312151593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Nikita Vaynonen report: "Immoral? Yes. But Legal!—The Central Electoral Commission and the Court of Arbitration Have Turned Down an Appeal From V. Shumeyko on Removing 'Communist Party of Russia' and 'Democratic Party of Russia' Candidates From the Register"]

[Text] Over the past few days, as we know, there has been a great deal of excitement over the statement with which Vladimir Shumeyko, candidate deputy and chairman of the government commission organizing the referendum on the draft constitution, addressed the Central Electoral Commission. The statement's author had requested that parties and blocs criticizing the draft constitution be removed from the register—that is, that they to all intents and purposes be banned from participating in the elections. To justify this request he argued that, if a party has registered its candidates for parliament, it cannot call for a vote against the constitution on the basis of which this parliament is to be created, and therefore such campaigning [agitatsiya] is acceptable only on the condition that they remove their candidates from the register.

The indisputable **moral** improbity of the stance taken by the blocs and parties mentioned in the statement cannot, however, serve as a **legal** basis for banning them from participating in the elections. That is what democracy is for—so that the integrity (as well as the dishonesty) of each individual might be visible to all. Shumeyko's rash request derives, to all appearances, from our general blatant lack of experience of democratic procedures, and it prompted a chorus of censure from the public. Furthermore, the entire situation was accorded a particularly unpleasant nuance by the fact that Shumeyko's statement began to be linked with the stance of the government in general, and even of Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, which forced his press secretary to issue the necessary explanations: The reluctance to countenance any kind of criticism of the draft Constitution does not reflect either the stance or the opinion of the president.

Unfortunately, Shumeyko's statement succeeded nevertheless in playing the negative role about which we all know. It has been learned by ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's editorial office from reliable sources that a document has been entered into Helmut Kohl's official file in which the situation was presented as alarming: In Russia, it said, the supreme authority is violating democratic norms. All things considered, this interpretation was the consequence of distortions and exaggerations effected by those mass media sources which still cannot get used to the notion that a statement, even from a very, very official person, may very well be not at all an expression of the official viewpoint, but merely his personal opinion.

On Wednesday the situation which had emerged in connection with Shumeyko's statement was investigated at the Information Arbitration Court, which had begun to receive numerous enquiries about whether criticism of the draft Constitution by candidates signified their renunciation of participation in the elections. The court replied unequivocally: It does not! There are just two restrictions: A candidate must devote the bulk of his speech to his own election program, and not to criticism of opponents (as per Article 18 of the Statute on Information Guarantees); and it is unacceptable to use electioneering opportunities to incite a usurpation of power, a forcible alteration of the constitutional order, the kindling of enmity and feuds, or the commission of other violations of legislation (Law on the Mass Media, Article 4). In all other aspects, a candidate determines the content of his speech autonomously—this is a matter for his civic conscience and political honor.

I have to confess that the arbitration court's ruling makes no mention of the words honor and conscience, unfortunately. I added them myself. But there is a remark (wholly justifiable, incidentally) directed at ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, which failed to ensure the timely publication of the court's guideline—issued prior to Shumeyko's statement—on the legitimacy of critical analysis of the draft Constitution (provided that the analysis is well-founded and does not exceed the bounds of electoral campaigning). The court, as stated in its ruling, draws the attention of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI and other news media whose founders are state organs to the unacceptability both of delays in publishing documents issued by the Information Arbitration Court, as well as of the publication merely of extracts from them, viewing this as a violation of Section 3, Paragraph 36 of the Statute on Information Guarantees. While respecting this ruling by the high court, we are forced nevertheless to point out that in this case the very provision mentioned is at odds with Article 17 of the Law on the Mass Media, under which neither the founder nor, more especially, any other state organ or person is accorded the kind of rights described in the Statute. The norm of the law is categorical and the same for all: "An editorial team carries out its activity on the basis of professional autonomy," and strict accountability is stipulated for a violation of this by anyone whomsoever. It is respect for professionalism, and not administrative diktat, which guarantees both free speech and the information interests of the state and its organs.

The professional duty to inform society objectively about all important documents, rulings, and statements (without, in doing so, turning it into a departmental leaflet, for, naturally, a functionary deems everything produced by his own pen to be important) is precisely what compelled the editorial team to print both V. Shumeyko's view and also material on the reaction by the public and by officials to it. But that is by the by.

News agencies have reported that the Central Electoral Committee has turned down V. Shumeyko's appeal for the abrogatition of the registration of candidates from the "Communist Party of Russia" and the "Democratic Party of Russia" and confirmed its joint decision with the arbitration court on the unacceptability of violating legislation on the elections.

Sliva Blamed

PM0312154593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Voldemar Koreshkov followed by unattributed report: "Criticism Not Being Allowed...And Money Not Being Allocated"]

[Text] This had never happened before. A very high-ranking official—which is what Anatoliy Sliva, deputy chief of the Russian Federation president's State Legal Administration, is—provided an interpretation for how registered electoral associations and individual candidates should behave in respect of the draft new Russian Constitution.

This interpretation has been published.

The democratic public has assessed it as a blatant and unprecedented attempt to exert pressure in the worst traditions of political censorship.

From the legal standpoint, Anatoliy Sliva can undoubtedly be credited with having made a discovery. The referendum on the draft constitution will be held 12 December 1993, but, according to Sliva, it is already on the statute books. Consequently, any criticism of the draft constitution—particularly of the articles on the status of the future parliament—is termed illegal and looked on as deception of the voters. The idea that candidate deputies' written applications to run for one of the Federal Assembly chambers allegedly constitute official confirmation of their acceptance of the provisions of the draft Constitution (Articles 94-109) relating this organ also seems paradoxical.

It is easier for the electoral associations and parties taking part in the elections and the referendum to see what stance to take in respect of the draft Constitution. Two ideas are appropriate in this area. It is necessary to ensure that the draft constitution of a free state is freely discussed under all circumstances. That is the first point. And the second point is that the question of adopting or rejecting the constitution will be decided not by electoral associations and political parties, but by the people.

Clearly, on the basis of the revolutionary conclusion from Anatoliy Sliva (and others of that ilk), Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, sent the Central Electoral Commission a letter (which has also been published) proposing that the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Democratic Party of Russia be deregistered for campaigning against the draft Constitution and that measures be taken against the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin," "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress," and "Russia's Future-New Names" blocs and the Agrarian Party of Russia.

This dubious conclusion by a lawyer who has failed to take all the ramifications into account has, of course, cast a shadow over the first vice premier's reputation. Common sense has prevailed, however. The Information Court of Arbitration has ruled that Vladimir Shumeyko's appeal is "not based on the legislation on election campaigning."

The Russian Federation president's stance is understandable and can be respected—constructive criticism of the draft is a natural manifestation of the diverse positions taken by different parties, population groups, and political leaders. What is unacceptable is not criticism of the constitution but wholesale denunciation of it from a standpoint of narrow party egoism and political revenge.

Every Russian citizen has an interest in what the constitution will be like. Naturally voters want it to be more specific and democratic, and hope that it will take the full range of public opinion into account.

What should the verdict be on A. Sliva? I am profoundly convinced that his provocative statement on the eve of the Federal Assembly elections and the referendum on the draft constitution has done more damage than all the criticism put together.

Using his own method, we would recall what Article 29 of the draft states:

Freedom of thought and speech is guaranteed for all. Nobody can be compelled to express or renounce their views or convictions.

It was these fundamental democratic principles that the high-ranking official—who is himself running for the State Duma, incidentally—was opposing. [Koreshkov ends]

The Central Electoral Commission is expressing concern about the fact that its account has not received a kopek of the 82.7 billion rubles [R] allocated under President Boris Yeltsin's edict to finance expenditure on staging the nationwide vote on the draft new Russian constitution. This was announced by Central Electoral Commission member Revomir Garmayev, who is coordinating the work to cooperate with financial organs.

"District electoral commissions are appealing to us virtually every day about this financing, but the Finance Ministry merely promises to remit the funds to our account," he noted, recalling that there are just 10 days to go to the election. Yet, Revomir Garmayev said, the Finance Ministry was obliged to remit the money under the presidential edict "On Financing the Expenditure on Staging the Nationwide Vote on the Russian Federation Draft Constitution" back on 20 November.

"When we ask why there is a holdup with the payments to finance the election campaign, the Finance Ministry says that there is no money," Revomir Garmayev explained. He announced that, on average, every precinct electoral commission—and there are more than 95,000 of them—should receive R750,000 each within the allotted time. But, as he put it, far less has so far been received—something which was discussed recently during the telephone linkup that the Central Electoral Commission organized with leaders of district electoral commissions and administration heads.

The Central Electoral Commission has sent out a total of R170 billion in three tranches—on 1, 15, and 29-30 November. "They are making do with this money for the time being," Revomir Garmayev noted, stressing that "this is an obvious case of the Finance Ministry failing to carry out a presidential edict."

Russia's Choice Urges Voters To Support Draft Constitution

LD0312181293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1615 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—The Russia's Choice bloc has called on Russian citizens to say "yes" to the first constitution of new free Russia at the upcoming referendum.

"This is the first time in the many-centuries-long history of our motherland that we freely and responsibly establish the fundamental law of our life," says a bloc statement circulated here today.

The bloc called on all parties and election associations to show high responsibility and urge their supporters to vote for the new constitution.

"We realize that not all constitutional articles are perfect; but the new constitution will give us a reliable basis for stability in all spheres and all parts of Russia; it will give solid guarantees of protection of human rights and freedoms," notes the statement.

Opposition Parties Join Forces To Spurn Constitution

MK0412112093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No.88, 4 Dec 93 (Signed to press 3 Dec) p 2

[Yelena Tregubova report under the "Consolidation" rubric: "Anti-Government Opposition Joins Forces in Order 'To Give the Cold Shoulder' to the Constitution and Rename the State Duma the Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference of the Left-Wing and Right-Wing Opposition (which, however, was dubbed by journalists the "Anti-Constitutional Conference" because all speakers without exception called for blocking the adoption of the constitution at the referendum) was held in Moscow on 3 December. Spokesmen for the Russian Federation Communist Party [RFCP] explained that "the RFCP inspired the conference ideologically, and Civic Union provided logistic support." Apart from them, the conference was attended by activists from the Agrarian Party, the Social Workers Party, the Russian Communist Workers Party, the Russian All-People's Union, Working Moscow, and also individuals, who excitedly recalled in the lobby how they gave refuge to mercenaries from the Dniester Region who "defended the White House." Spiritual gurus and organizers of the October events themselves—the currently demoted Valeriy Zorkin, Oleg Rumyantsev, Sergey Baburin, Viktor Alksnis, Mikhail Astafyev, Viktor Aksyuchits—were also present.

Former Supreme Soviet deputy Oleg Rumyantsev said that "if citizens adopt the new constitution on 12 December, they will assume responsibility for the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet" (that is, they will confirm that the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet corresponded

to their wishes), something which should be prevented by all means, Oleg Rumyantsev said.

Yuriy Golik, former deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noting that the proposed draft constitution was "copied off Western models," retorted: "For half a century the entire world looked attentively at our constitutional experience; our Constitution of 1936 was a breakthrough in international theory and practice of parliamentarianism—why should it be different now?!" Assuring his comrades that they will undoubtedly succeed in blocking the adoption of the new constitution at the referendum, Yuriy Golik promised to the audience's thunderous applause: "Afterward we will be able, once again, to give an example to the whole world!"

Leonid Ivanov, secretary of the Council of Defense Ministers of the CIS republics, who was present at the conference as an honorary guest, said in his address: "At present the army is one of the most politicized government institutions, so the constitution should set forth in whose hands it rests." Since Leonid Ivanov complained in the same breath that under the new Constitution "in the end the command of the army is exercised by the supreme commander in chief, the president," it turned out that the secretary of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers simply favored "turning over" the levers of army command.

The participants in yesterday's Constitutional Conference who are running for the Federal Assembly spoke in earnest that "if we manage to give the cold shoulder to the constitution on 12 December, once at the State Duma we will be able at once to vote for renaming it the Supreme Soviet and to begin acting in strict compliance with the old Constitution once again."

On Sunday, 5 December, the "Stalin Constitution Day," some opponents of the adoption of the new Fundamental Law plan to take to the streets under the banners of Working Moscow.

CP Leader Criticizes Draft Constitution

LD0412145993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian Communist Party's Leader Gennadiy Zuganov, heading the party's federal ticket for the coming elections disapproves of the draft of the new constitution. He says that the new constitution grants to the president "so large powers that they could be carried out by nobody." Speaking at a meeting between the Russian Communist Party's candidates and voters in Moscow on Saturday he blamed the Russian authorities for the intention to "give a juridical form to the results of the coup d'etat" carried out by "radical democrats."

According to Zuganov, their rule manifests in the fact that the country has been put 300 years back from the point of view of the territorial composition, 50 years back from the point of view of living standards and back to 1924 from the point of view of the criminal situation."

The communist leader emphasized that the main points of the party's program were to refuse from the "shock therapy" in the economy, to establish a government of people's confidence and concord, to restore the legitimate order through denunciation of the Belaya Vezha agreement, to restore the Constitutional Court, to apply "emergency measures" to tackle the criminal situation and to adopt a new constitution which would differ from the currently proposed one. The communist leader remarked that the number of the party's supporters (600,000 people) exceeded the number of its members by 20 times at least.

He promised that the left forces would come out in a united front and would set up a strong faction in the newly elected parliament.

The Russian Communist Party's candidate to the State Duma, Vladimir Andreyev pointed out: "If we say reject the constitution's draft at the referendum we will continue to build socialism which has been confirmed in the current Fundamental law. Otherwise, the political system will be changed."

Ryabov Urges Voters To Support Constitution

LD0512201093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1915 GMT on 5 December carries a 10-minute recorded broadcast in which Russian Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov explains the procedure for voting on 12 December. Ryabov shows viewers the four voting slips in turn: the slip for the Federation Council, two slips for the two sections of the State Duma, and the slip for the referendum on the draft constitution. He explains in detail what the different slips represent and where voters should make their mark.

Ryabov then says: "The path to this Constitution has been too long. The path to a basic law for our state, for a new Russian state, has been too difficult. For this reason, I am making a very big request of all of you—to carefully think through and weigh everything before you raise your hand and cross out one or other short word. If we make a mistake here [points to parliamentary voting slip], tha is a mistake that can be rectified and quite quickly. In two years' time, there will be new elections. We will see who's who out of those we voted for, and we will be able either to put our trust in them again or to replace them with others.

"If we make a mistake here [points to constitution referendum slip], however, then this mistake could cost all of us a great disaster, and very quickly. We have already been through a period that was extremely difficult and hard for our people—a period that nearly dragged us into civil war. As Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, I hope very much that we will all make the correct choice: a choice in favor of the Constitution."

Chernomyrdin Likely To Remain After Election

LD0612133793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1305 GMT 6 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The parliamentary elections and the constitutional referendum of December 12 are not likely to produce any unexpected or radical changes in the country's government, judging by the processes underway inside the Russian establishment.

The only "principal" change which most Russians not too well- versed in big-time politics will certainly notice will be in the name of the supreme body of executive power. From the day the new Constitution comes into effect, the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation will be officially called just "Government of the Russian Federation".

After the new Constitution is adopted, the government will expand its authority, and the system of forming the government will change. The mechanism of interrelation between the government and the parliament will be made clearer. But the formation of a new parliament as a result of the December elections by no means indicates that a new government will be formed immediately thereafter, judging by the draft Constitution and transitional provisions

The only thing the newly-elected members of the State Duma will be able to do—and that only by an overwhelming majority from among their total number—will be to express no confidence in the government. But even this would not mean its automatic resignation: the Constitution grants the president the right to disagree with the parliament on this matter.

These legal snags, as well as "quite good" business and personal relations between Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin, enable well-informed sources to state with a high degree of certainty that both the premier and most of the ministers will survive the elections.

Viktor Chernomyrdin himself, who will mark the first anniversary as Russia's prime minister on December 14, has little doubt that he will retain his office, judging by a seemingly insignificant "day-to-day" facts: the premier spent two weeks on vacation in the Valday area. This might have seemed risky on the eve of the parliamentary elections but in fact this showed that Viktor Chernomyrdin is planning intensive work in the weeks and months ahead which will leave him little time for vacationing.

After the parliament is formed, the only emotional outburst associated with the government can be expected in the first half of January when the cabinet will have to "legitimatise" itself in new political conditions which will take shape after the elections and the adoption of the new Constitution. Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin shed some light on this event in a conversation with journalists a few days ago. He said that the government will probably ask the State Duma to vote on confidence in itself.

It is not difficult to forecast a positive decision of this question for the premier and the government, albeit after a heated debate. The thing is that Viktor Chernomyrdin, pragmatic politician and skilled economic manager, is likely to suit without serious reservations such future influential factions as the Civic Union and the Party of Russian Unity and Concord. There will be no difficulties also with Russia's Choice, whose leaders Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov occupy the key posts in the cabinet. In addition, on the strength of the specifics of the forthcoming elections, in which many government members are running on tickets from different parties and blocs, the present composition of the government can well be described as coalitional. After the elections are over and the parliamentary factions are legalized, this composition of the cabinet will become a coalition government de jure.

Naturally, any forecast of the fate of Viktor Chernomyrdin and his government after December 12 remains no more than a guess in the Russian political life so rich in unpredictable twists and turns. It can only be said with a degree of certainty that Boris Yeltsin is likely to make a stake on Viktor Chernomyrdin again as he did once already, on December 14, 1992.

Voting Procedures Explained in Detail

PM0312145193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 2

["Decree of the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections to the Federation Council and the Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation on Explanations on the Procedure for Completing the Ballot Papers for Voting in the Elections for Deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and the Ballot Paper for the Nationwide Referendum on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation", dated Moscow, 26 November 1993, followed by "Explanations" on procedure]

[Text] In accordance with Article 17 of the Statute on the Elections of Deputies of the State Duma in 1993, Article 15 of the Statute on the Elections of Deputies of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 1993, and Article 9 of the Statute on the Nationwide Vote on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation on 12 December 1993, the Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. That the Explanations on the Procedure for Completing the Ballot Papers for Voting in the Elections for Deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and

the Ballot Paper for the Nationwide Referendum on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation (here appended) are approved.

2. On the basis of Part Two of Article 35 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media" and Paragraph 19 of the Statute on the Procedure for the Use of the Mass Media by Electoral Associations and Candidate Deputies when Campaigning during the Elections to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, as ratified by Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission Decree No. 18, dated 1 November 1983, the editorial offices of mass media organs indicated in Part Two of Article 28 of the Statute on the Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993 are to publish (broadcast) these Explanations at the following times:

a) the editorial offices of federation-wide newspapers and newspapers of the components of the Russian Federation are to publish the Explanations once in the period prior to 30 November 1993 and once in the last edition appearing before voting day;

b) the editorial offices of federation-wide and regional state television and radio companies are to broadcast the Explanations (with account taken of the different regional time zones): on radio channels between 0800 and 1200 hours and 1900 and 2200 hours on 28 November and 5 and 11 December and between 0600 and 0800 hours on 12 December 1993; and on television channels between 1900 and 2200 hours on 28 November and 11 December and between 0600 and 0800 hours on 12 December 1993.

[Signed] A.V. Ivanchenko, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] Moscow, 26 November 1993
Decree No. 98

Explanations on the Procedure for Completing the Ballot Papers for Voting in the Elections for Deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and the Ballot Paper for the Nationwide Referendum on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation

The elections for deputies of the Federal Assembly-Parliament of the Russian Federation and the nationwide vote on the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation are to be held on Sunday 12 December 1993.

Every voter is to receive at the polling place four ballot papers, comprising three ballot papers for the elections of Federal Assembly deputies and one ballot paper for voting on the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation.

To ensure that the will of every voter who takes part in the voting is taken into account the voter must complete the ballot paper correctly.

If the ballot paper is completed incorrectly, bears traces of rubbing out or any other kind of falsification, or is not the official paper, it is invalid and will not be taken into account when calculating the votes.

A ballot paper which does not bear the stamp of the district or precinct electoral commission or the signatures of two members of the precinct electoral commission is also invalid.

The Elections to the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

The format of the ballot papers has been ratified by the Central Electoral Commission. Each ballot paper contains information on the elections to the chamber of the Federal Assembly—Federation Council or State Duma—for which it is intended and carries the date of the elections, the name of the electoral district and the region within which the district is formed, the list—in alphabetical order—of the electoral associations or candidate deputies registered by the corresponding electoral commissions, and the conditions whereby the ballot paper may be deemed invalid.

The Ballot Paper for Voting in the Elections for Deputies of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

The elections for Russian Federation deputies are conducted on the basis of electoral districts formed on the territory of each component of the Russian Federaton—republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous oblast, and cities with federal status. The districts for elections to the Federation Council are two-seat districts, that is to say, each district will elect the two deputies who have gained the largest number of valid votes compared with the other candidates provided the total number of valid votes represents 25 percent or more of the registered electorate. When voting, each voter, after reading the list of candidates entered on the ballot paper, is to place a cross or any other kind of sign in the blank square opposite the names of the candidates for whom he is voting or in the square opposite the line which reads "against all candidates."

Each voter may vote for no more than two candidates indicated on the ballot paper for the Federation Council elections. If the voter places his cross or any other sign in more than two squares or places a cross (sign) simultaneously opposite the name of a candidate and on the line "against all candidates" or does not place his cross (sign) in any square, the ballot paper will be ruled invalid.

The Ballot Paper for Voting in the Federation-Wide Electoral District for Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

The elections in the federation-wide electoral district, which includes the whole territory of the Russian Federation, will be conducted according to a proportional system which envisages voters' voting not for individual candidates but for federation-wide lists of electoral associations (parties, political movements, other public associations and blocs) enumerated on the the ballot paper.

Each party or electoral association will win seats in the State Duma in proportion to the number of votes cast by voters for each association, provided that this number is not less than 5 percent of the valid votes. Two hundred and twenty five deputies, that is to say half the total number of deputies in the State Duma, are to be elected by the federation-wide electoral district.

When voting, the voter, after reading the list of electoral associations entered on the ballot paper, is to place his cross or any other sign in the blank square opposite the electoral association whose federation-wide list of candidates he is voting for or place his cross (sign) opposite the line which reads "against all candidates."

A ballot paper where a cross (sign) is placed in more than one square or is not placed in any square will be ruled invalid.

The Ballot Paper for Voting in a Single-Seat Electoral District for Elections to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation

Each electoral district is to elect one deputy. The candidate gaining the largest number of electors' votes compared with the other candidates will become the deputy, provided that the total number of valid votes is 25 percent or more of the number of registered voters.

When voting, the voter, after reading the list of candidates entered on the ballot paper, is to place a cross or any other sign in the blank square opposite the name of the candidate for whom he is voting or in the square opposite the line which which reads "against all candidates." A ballot paper where a cross or any other sign is placed in more than one square or is not placed in any square will be ruled invalid.

The Nationwide Vote on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation

The format of the ballot paper for the nationwide vote on the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation is laid down by the Statute on the Nationwide Vote on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation on 12 December 1993, as ratified by Edict No. 1633 of the President of the Russian Federation "On the Holding of the Nationwide Vote on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation," dated 15 October 1993. The ballot paper contains one question: "Do you accept the Constitution of the Russian Federation?"

If the voter votes in favor of adopting the proposed draft Constitution of the Russian Federation he is to strike out the word "no." If he votes against the adoption of the proposed draft of the Constitution of the Russian Federation he is to strike out the word "yes."

A ballot paper where both the words "yes" and "no" have been left or where both have been struck out will be ruled invalid

The Central Electoral Commission recommends that voters:

in order to simplify the counting of votes and prevent misinterpretations when reckoning up the results of voting, use the same cross-sign (X or +) to complete the ballot papers for the elections of deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation;

in order to avoid difficulties when counting the votes, do not enter on the ballot paper any inscriptions, appeals, or assessments apart from the expression of their will.

Decree on Including Forced Migrants on Voter Lists

PM0312151193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Decree No. 111 signed by Central Electoral Commission Chairman Ryabov and Secretary Zagulyayev: "Central Electoral Commission Decree on Elections to the Federation Council and Elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma"]

[Text] On additions to the explanations on the procedure for the application of individual articles of the Statute on the Election of State Duma Deputies in 1993 ratified by Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 1557 of 1 October 1993 and approved by Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission Decree No. 34 of 10 November 1993.

In accordance with Article 17 of the Statute on the Election of State Duma Deputies in 1993, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees that:

1. The following sentence be added to Paragraph 2 of the explanations (Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission No. 5, 1993) to Article 11 of the Statute on the Election of State Duma Deputies in 1993:

"The list of voters in places of temporary settlement includes Russian Federation citizens who have the status of forced migrants or who have applied to the corresponding organ of the Russian Federal Migration Service—an organ of the migration service in a republic within the Russian Federation, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, or the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg—or, if none exists, to the relevant executive organ for recognition as forced migrants until the question of their permanent place of residence is resolved in accordance with the Russian Federation law 'On Forced Migrants'."

2. This decree shall be published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, and the Bulletin of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] Moscow, 1 December 1993
No. 111

International Observers Accredited for Election

LD0312164393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1508 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Some 600 international observers at the upcoming Russian parliamentary elections have been accredited in Moscow. There are still some observers to come, head of the Central Electoral Commission's international service Andrey Davydov told ITAR-TASS.

In his words, representatives of various international organizations from 45 states, including the European Parliament, the European Union, the CSCe Parliamentary Assembly, the North Atlantic Assembly and international human rights organizations, will set their observer posts at polling stations to monitor preparations for the elections and the voting.

The Central Electoral Commission attentively studies all applications. The election campaign is unprecedented; "until now we have had practically no alternative. Thus, the huge interest shown by foreign observers is understandable," said Davydov.

He stressed the activities of foreign observers are not regulated. "They enjoy full freedom of travel to any electoral districts in any Russian region, as well as access to any information related to the elections and the universal referendum on the draft Russian constitution," he said.

In the words of Andrey Davydov, the Central Electoral Commission considered today the schedule of meetings between foreign observers and Russian officials, including government members. The commission's inter-department working group on relations with international observers was given a number of instructions related to the stay of foreign guests in Russia.

Lack of Funds Limits Polling Activity

PM0612130593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Yevgeniy Skukin: "Nail-Studded Tin Door"]

[Text] A door like that intimidates everyone, and it is not often that we find among us someone who has ventured to check that his own name has been included on the electoral roll or a representative of a more numerous clan—those who want to know who they will actually have to vote for 12 December.

At the entry to the REU-12 [expansion unknown] at 21, General Belov Street there is a sign indicating the whereabouts of polling place no. 2078 (in actual fact no. 2074 is there too—Ye.S.). However, when you get to the second floor you come up against a tin door with no name on it and studded with nails. It is obvious that behind it along the corridor are the official premises of the REU and the abovementioned electoral commissions. But we, a group of people anxious to go through, were prevented from doing so by a boss' voice: "Admission from 1500 through 1800!" There was a production conference of REU workers in full swing in the hall and it was futile to argue that I actually needed a different office. It was 1100 hours and the official working hours of the polling places begins only at 1200 hours.

...I entered the two-story private house where polling place no. 2075 is located in the work area of the board of directors of the No. 1 amalgamated client just in case someone appeared earlier. Fortunately I was not wrong. I made the acquaintance of a pleasant woman—Nadezhda Ivanova, chairman of the electoral commission.

"Until recently few people came," says Nadezhda Ivanova. "Checking the electoral lists was of interest mostly to those who have not been living in the microrayon for long. Oldtimers know that we have always worked reliably with virtually our present staff. The only candidate with whom our voters have already met is Oleg Mikhaylovich Tolkachev, the prefect of our own Yuzhnyy district, who is running for the Federation Council from Moscow."

That is the situation a week before the elections. The most essential item is lacking—a basic text with a "mug shot" to stick on street display stands and doors. And even their beloved prefect for whom they could not fail to campaign is represented at polling place no. 2075 only by a single xeroxed sheet.

A similar situation exists in other microrayons. Polling place no. 2064 is situated at no. 11 Borisovskiy passage. The standard announcement hung up here states that the polling place commission works from 1200 through 2000 hours. It was already 1300 but the door was closed.

The real work regime of this place was described to me by an elderly citizen of intellectual appearance. My new acquaintance, Fedor Petrovich Saygin, is a war invalid, member of the veterans council, and member of the Yuzhnyy district veterans council. With the precision natural to old soldiers he had already come here several times but...

"The day before yesterday I came at 1200—the door was closed. It was the same at 1600 hours. It was the same yesterday. I telephoned to electoral district no. 194—the man on duty knew nothing. But people simply do not know who to vote for. And what if I suddenly find I am not on the lists?"

Comment is superfluous, as they say. Of course, one of the main reasons is that to this day the Central Electoral Commission has not received from the Finances Ministry the tens of billions of rubles which are due to it. Hence the paucity of so-called visual agitation. But for all the financial and organizational blunders in conducting the election campaign, ultimately it is we who suffer. There is a feeling of bleakness from the nail-studded doors set up on the lower floors. Where we live.

Embassy Denies U.S. Funding of Political Ad

PM0312143793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report: "Americans Are Not Advertising 'Russia's Choice'"]

[Text] The U.S. Embassy in Russia has circulated a report which indicates that the American side did not participate in the preparation and funding of a television advertisement trailer in the interests of the "Russia's Choice" election bloc.

The misunderstanding occurred, the report notes, when extra text was put into a 30-second advertisement for a privatization program, which was indeed funded by the Americans ("Your Choice"—a train with names of Russian cities written on its railcars), without the knowledge of the U.S. Government or the Agency for International Development. It acquired a distinct political hue: "Your Choice—'Russia's choice.'" Following a protest by the Americans, the advertisement was taken off the air.

Electoral Groupings Get 50 Million Rubles Each

LD0612100493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0923 GMT 6 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission today heard the first round of applause from its non-voting members, representatives of parties and electoral groupings running in the elections. The applause greeted the commission's decision to give fifty million roubles to each of the 13 electoral associations participating in the race.

The money will be remitted to the open provisional accounts of the electoral groupings registered to run in the elections for the Federal Assembly.

At the outset of the electoral campaign, every electoral grouping out of these 13 got their first packages of 50 million roubles each. Now the commission decided to add another fifty million. The resources must be spent to fund electoral events, the commission said in a resolution.

CEC Reminds Media of Ban on Opinion Polls From 2 Dec

PM0312145993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1

["Appeal to Leaders of the Mass Media of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections to the Federation Council and for Elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma," dated 30 November and signed by N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission]

[Text] The procedure and deadline for holding pre-election events involving the use of the mass media established by by the Statute on Elections of State Duma Deputies in 1993 and the Statute on Elections of Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council Deputies in 1993 envisage that for 10 days before election day and on election day itself the publishing (promulgation) in the press and on television and radio of the results of public opinion polls connected with the upcoming elections is banned. The aforesaid ban enters into force as of 0000 2 December and operates until 2400 12 December 1993.

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission focuses attention on the need for the strict execution of this requirement. Responsibility for the execution of the aforesaid requirement lies with the chiefs of mass media editorial offices.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission
[Dated] 30 November 1993, Moscow city
No. 103

Paper Provides Election Campaign News Roundup

PM0312125193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts and Vladimir Berezko "Election Chronicle" report: "Are We Being Offered a New Trip From St. Petersburg to Moscow?"]

[Text] The election plans of many electoral associations are providing a great deal of information and giving rise to various hopes. Hopes, naturally, of better times ahead.

Thus, for instance, representatives of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] stated their support at a press conference for the creation of a zone of accelerated development along the Moscow-St. Petersburg railroad and highway.

A similarly named program envisages giving priority rights to settlement along the route to reserve servicemen. If a preliminary analysis shows that the program is feasible, the PRUA will be at pains to implement it. The party leadership also believes that there is no point in cutting the military budget, and the funds released as a result of conversion and Army cutbacks should be channeled into providing social protection for servicemen.

The official news has also been very interesting. In yesterday's issue we reported the letter from First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko to the Central Electoral Commission asking it to exclude from the election campaign parties and blocs criticizing the draft Constitution (the Communist Party and Democratic Party of the Russian Federation).

The Information Court of Arbitration was the first to speak out on this issue. It explained yet again the rights of candidate deputies and enumerated the restrictions on their election statements. The court ruled that "there are

no other restrictions in the legislation on election campaigning on the content of candidate deputies' election campaigns, including the enunciation in a correct form of positive or critical comments on the draft Constitution." The same assessment was made by the Central Electoral Commission yesterday.

At the latest consultative conference of representatives of electoral associations, held 1 December, representatives of parties and blocs were even harsher in their assessment of Vladimir Shumeyko's appeal to the Central Electoral Commission. Sergey Yushenkov said that "Russia's Choice" considers it impermissible to ban criticism of the draft. Gennadiy Burbulis believes that "...Shumeyko has overestimated his powers as chairman of the referendum commission."

Another ban (but one in force this time) came into force at midnight precisely on 2 December in accordance with the Statute on the Elections. As of that time it is impermissible for the mass media to publish the results of opinion polls connected with the election. The ban applies only to data giving specific figures and percentages. The ban remains in force until midnight on 12 December.

We are all taking risks and we are all in a hurry, and that includes the candidate deputies. Hardly had Anatoliy Sobchak stated yesterday that agreement had allegedly been reached between the democratic electoral blocs (namely "Russia's Choice," Sergey Shakhray's party, the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc) than Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev, his party colleague, called Sobchak's statement premature. It will be interesting to see what the representatives of the other parties will say tomorrow.

Many of the participants in the election race are now trying not to make empty promises to the voters, but to firmly guarantee them at least some kind of dignified life. In this sense the "Dignity and Charity" electoral association is probably the most noteworthy. We would recall that it includes veterans' organizations, the "Russia's Chernobyl" union, and other social groups of voters. The list of candidates includes Konstantin Frolov, vice president of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Nikolay Gubenko, Tatyana Doronina, and Marshal of Aviation Nikolay Skomorokhov.

We were told at the electoral blocs' joint press center that "Dignity and Charity" had staged events in many parts of Russia, including areas far from the center. The aims and tasks of the association are simple but are understood by many people—it advocates a dignified life, humanitarianism, spiritual revival, and reforms for the sake of people rather than at their expense. The association's leaders have now traveled to the regions to meet with their voters.

TV Election Broadcasts Viewed

PM0612115593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 93 First Edition p 7

[Sergey Mostovshchikov article: "TV: DPR, CPRF, LDPR, 'WR' PM, 'D&C' FPM, Etc., Etc"]

[Text] Over the last week packeted cat food and chocolate bars have been ignominiously shunted off our television screens. Their place has been firmly taken by the talking heads and other body parts of contenders for seats in the future State Duma appearing above desks. The political publicity campaign is aimed at the viewer who, desperately changing channels, eventually gives in and starts to cry: "Just look what shape they're in! Look how the audience loves them!..."

"Okay, I continued. Let's do without the president. The best thing to do would be for everybody to go out into the meadow to make some punch, and we'll lock Boris in. Seeing as he's a man of lofty qualities, let him sit here and form a cabinet..."—Benedikt Yerofeyev, "Moscow-Petushki."

The citizen who is tormented night and day by the question of whose hands he should entrust with the future of Russia now essentially need only run to the nearest power point. As soon as he switches on any domestic appliance at the moment he will immediately begin to take part in the election campaign. Even without a TV set, he will see these church cupolas in a slight haze, children in traditional garb patiently personifying the nation's happy future, icons, the proud closeup of Stanislav Govorukhin wearing a cap, filled with concern for the country's destiny, and that bard of democracy Oleg Gazmanov galloping with his thoughts against the backdrop of students of the Suvorov Military School.

In addition to all these delightful video clips there is a series of programs with alluring titles—"Federal Assembly," "Meeting With Voters," "Voter's Hour," and others—which promise, for absolutely no charge, encounters with the country's major political figures, who have paid TV exorbitant sums for each minute of these exciting meetings. And this is quite right, because this kind of freebie can make absolutely anyone sit up and take an interest in the life of his motherland. Although, of course, there is no point in being overly greedy here, since after two or three hours in front of the screen you develop paralysis of the brain and ideological apathy leading to invalidity of the intellect and then an agonizing death as a result of a fall from a political platform.

For those who nevertheless do want to suffer, I can recommend dying with the "Dignity and Charity" Federal Political Movement ("D&C" FPM). At least, after winning the elections it promises that everyone will be able to fade away quietly and with dignity with a modest diet, an account in the savings bank, a sanatorium once a year, and free enemas today and with confidence in the future.

But such confidence is nonexistent today, actor and politician Nikolay Gubenko sadly informed his voters recently when he set out "Dignity and Charity's" program principles on TV. His words were meticulously repeated by the signing of the woman appearing in the bottom left corner of the screen to ensure that even deaf mutes could hear what Nikolay Gubenko had to say. And what they heard was that thanks to the authorities and newfound capitalists, elderly citizens of Russia are forced to eke out a poverty-stricken existence and to sell their military decorations to antique shops on the Arbat.

In order to back up the tragic picture of total nightmare painted by Nikolay Gubenko, there were appearances by a veteran, someone who had lost his sight, and the 36-year-old leader of a medical insurance company, whom Nikolay Gubenko described as a "young hopeful." Having used the young hopeful to illustrate enterprise with a human face, Nikolay Gubenko made his final comments and delivered his movement's main slogans, the main one apparently being the phrase: "Reforms for the sake of man."

That is a very accurate and apt phrase, but it transpires that it does not embrace the entire scope of the reforms actually needed by our unhappy country. Reforms are also needed by dogs, cats, the atmosphere, carrots, cabbages, and other greenery. The "KEDR" [Cedar] Constructive Ecological Movement of Russia [name is both acronym for Constructive Ecological Movement of Russia and word meaning "Cedar"], whose program featured the presidium on the platform and a whole audience full of voters, is promising to do this and much more besides.

This political organization's name is quite a smart idea. Of course, they could have come up with something punchier. Like the "DEREVO" [Tree] Democratic Ecological Reformist Natural Universal Organization. But "KEDR" is okay. At any rate the actor Mikhail Kononov said that he very much likes the name, the cedar is so green and is shown against such a blue background on the logo. You'll agree that this is very promising. It encapsulates knowledge of reality, space, and perspective.

Admittedly, it's hard to say what this perspective is, since the "cedars," who will solve everything if they win, have promised not merely to improve the environment but to exempt all sports institutions from taxes, to ensure that the citizen of Russia gains new rights—the right to be the kindest, most intelligent, and most beautiful of all—and also to guarantee realization of his main dream: a satisfactory sanitary and epidemiological situation in his personal and public life.

After these ardent words from the audience, a woman voter popped up like a banner and declared that "this is balm to our hearts and souls," after which she sat down to wait for her wishes to be realized. The debate was brought to a close by one of the movement's leaders, who promised "we are going to do something useful for our people."

At this point my duty to be objective dictates that I note that, unlike their KEDR rivals, Russia's Communists have already moved on from the sphere of theory to the sphere of practical action. Teacher Tamara Pletneva, appearing on channel 2 with her party comrades, told the audience that on her way to the studio she had given up her seat on the bus to an old woman. Whereas citizens with a different political orientation had not done so, since morality in our country has essentially already been ruined.

Party member Yuriy Belov briefly described ways of restoring it. To make sure that viewers' heads did not get in a spin at the full spectrum of joy brought by the communist movement, the speaker highlighted only five great spiritual needs that his comrades in arms will satisfy. Namely: 1. Perpetuation of the species. 2. Labor. 3. Cognition. 4. Communication. 5. Beauty. The combination of these five great factors will probably provide Soviet people with morality, and the old woman with a seat on the bus. Although what need will she have of a bus then, when she is preoccupied with her beauty, communication, labor, cognition, and perpetuation of the species?

Yuriy Belov went on to present viewers with another poser, disclosing that many young people are now asking him: "Where is my motherland?" But since the program moderator stated with some relish that the Communists had run out of airtime, the whereabouts of young people's motherland remained a mystery to which Yuriy Belov said the answer could be found in the book written by Communist Party of the Russian Federation leader Zyuganov.

Naturally, some viewers dropped everything and rushed off to buy the program literature. But these were viewers untroubled by any yearning for beauty, because if you are more attracted to Zyuganov than to the "Women of Russia" Political Movement ("WR" PM), you probably have not five great spiritual needs but fewer, so there is no point in reading Zyuganov.

Let's take a close look at "Women of Russia," as I did, though I was perplexed to find there were just two of them on the program. However, sometimes just one woman is enough for a man of Russia, especially if she is talking to him about the dreadful increase in venereal disease, whooping cough, mumps, infantile cerebral palsy, the declining birth rate, and the increasing number of abortions, rapes, murders, robberies, and other nightmares. By the time you burst into tears and beg for mercy, the solution will be ready to hand. Vote "Women of Russia," vote for the feminization of power and you can spit upon your whooping cough, chicken pox, and gonorrhea because once they have won the elections there will never be any of all this. And that is as true as it is that a woman politician has something that a male politician lacks and will never have.

No, I am serious. Stanislav Govorukhin of the DPR [Democratic Party of Russia] has his pipe and cap, and

Nikolay Travkin has his conviction that for the last two years the country's main hero has been the murdering broker. Nikolay Travkin clamors that everybody nowadays is a racketeer or is running a stall rather than working on a tractor! And I am left wondering: Which should I choose? The woman or the tractor, abortion or a job as tiler, whooping cough or Stanislav Govorukhin in a cap? I am left wondering, but I can find no answer because Sergey Shakhray comes floating toward me out of all this nightmare. He comes floating toward me and has a meeting with the intelligentsia.

It's said that the current contenders for State Duma seats have entire teams of people working with them who advise the politicians on how to behave more subtly during the election campaign. In the case of Sergey Shakhray it was all extremely subtle: As soon as Sergey Shakhray met with the intelligentsia, with staffers of higher theatrical educational establishments, he immediately explained to them that he was doing this not in the interests of self-publicity but merely because his heart bleeds for the nationalities problems that are rending the fatherland.

Of course, if I had been writing the script for meetings with the intelligentsia I would have been even more subtle. I would have taken the members of the intelligentsia out into a meadow and got them to sit on tussocks in relaxed poses. You know: A couple of workers in culture and the arts hugging Russian birch trees, one playing slowly on the harp, three intellectuals cooking fish soup. Then all of a sudden Sergey Shakhray walks out of the undergrowth with a lute, and everybody immediately rushes over to help him resolve the tricky nationalities question.

That's how I would have handled it. But I'm not the one who writes these scripts, so we had Sergey Shakhray in a suit sitting at the head of a desk and spending 20 minutes explaining to the intelligentsia all about the nationalities question. In response the intelligentsia complained to Shakhray about Snickers bars, which have taken the place of true culture for the country's peoples, and asked him to change everything, promising for their part to give him every support.

Many cultural workers of the past would have supported this impulse. Nikolay Vasilyevich Gogol would have supported it. He was fond of solving the nationalities question, but he died before our time. It's a pity he's not here now so we could consider the situation together. But not with Sergey Shakhray, Nikolay Travkin, or even the women of Russia. But only with the only true hero and chief intellectual of the country, the guarantee of prosperity and progress—Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy.

In order to increase the power of this name and to add real beauty and maturity to it, I would ask our government to rename Vladimir Volfovich Wolfgang Amadeus Zhirinovskiy. But I fear that even if the government heeds my timid call, nothing in the world can reflect the full charm of this individual who exemplifies the true level of legal awareness of our broad people's masses.

It's a real pity, but I have probably missed the series of programs "Zhirinovskiy on Aeronautics," "Zhirinovskiy on the Russian Origin of the Universe," "Zhirinovskiy and Electricity," "Zhirinovskiy on the Nature of Matter," and "Zhirinovskiy and Minerals." Some people say that these programs never existed, but personally I doubt it. But I am not going to argue, for there is little reason for regret since I have seen the star turn—Vladimir Volfovich's speech about sex.

At half past eleven in the evening, donning a smart red jacket, Vladimir Volfovich talked to young Russians about politics in a language they can understand. Pistils and stamens, plugs and sockets—these words close to the heart of every younger citizen sparkled with new facets in the hands of Zhirinovskiy the politician.

Viewing the history of Russia as one colossal sexual act, Vladimir Volfovich, as an experienced sexologist, offered evaluations of its specific stages. Describing the Great October Socialist Revolution as rape, Doctor Zhirinovskiy immediately moved on to the period of Stalinism-homosexualism. After assessing this historical phenomenon as largely negative, the speaker enlarged in detail on matters of onanism that remind him of Nikita Khrushchev and his period in power.

Resorting to metaphorical thinking, Vladimir Volfovich was critical of political self-abuse, but he angrily noted that the bolsheviks always had a one-sided view of the question of masturbation. And consequently at least several million boys who tried autonomously to embark on sexual life suffered mental trauma. The communist bans on this type of activity, in the view of Liberal Democratic Party, are a hangover from the past.

Hinting to young people that young Russian men and women will have a totally free hand once the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] comes to power, Vladimir Volfovich touched on the recent history of the state, describing it in general as impotence, that is, a condition where the leadership "wants to, but is unable to." Presumably there is just one way out of this sexual impasse—the 47-year-old Doctor Zhirinovskiy and the total pluralism that the members of his party seek to ensure.

Pluralism is close to Russians' hearts. Especially as the Great Medical Encyclopedia uses this word for group sex involving at least three citizens. And it is excellent that Vladimir Volfovich is promising us this in short order, within his first three months in government. First of all, admittedly, we will have to destroy 5,000 gangs, stop deliveries of anything outside the motherland, sell weapons to India in exchange for food and clothing, call in all our debts from the rest of the world, pay nothing to the rest of the world, and move into detached houses, and then we can get down to pluralism.

Good grief, what a wonderful life I'm going to have then! By March I will be sitting on a tall cedar, free, beautiful, ecologically clean, dignified, and charitable. I will know where my motherland is, Europe will be at my feet, and the washed intelligentsia will have solved the nationalities issue. No one will shout severely at me if I indulge in onanism, and I will need have no fear of infantile cerebral palsy since it will have been abolished by special decree. From time to time I will shoot 5,000 bandit gangs into pitiful pieces, and when I lose my mind for good they will take me down from the cedar and give me free medical treatment. And also a free funeral.

And on my gravestone my grateful descendants will carve the following proud words: "Here lies a voter who thought the future of Russia was in his hands."

TV Election Campaign Broadcast Techniques Criticized

PM0312120393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Yermolin: "Don't Go, Fool...."]

[Text] The television debates which have poured down on our people from the screens are nonetheless essentially rarely debates.

But the appearance "in the ring" on the Leningrad channel on Wednesday of Yuriy Boldyrev (the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc) gives grounds for speaking of the fighting spirit of at least one of the participants in the television debates. The "Russia's Choice" group opposing the "Yabloc" was memorable for its desire to persuade its opponents that they are all "brothers in reason." But in response to a challenge from ecologist Nikolay Vorontsov to "seek not what divides us but what unites us," Yuriy Boldyrev was tough in making it clear that a compromise in assessing the 21 September through 4 October events, the proposed draft Russian Federation Constitution, and the government's social policy is impossible.

The election fighters found an interesting ploy: Anatoliy Chubays interviewed Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov. Probably neither the first vice premier nor the finances minister ever felt so at ease during an interview. In general Yegor Gaydar has assumed the thankless task of "the man who does the explaining." And you feel that this task is as pleasant for him as it is for a writer to explain to readers what he actually wanted to say in his work.

The knot of reciprocal lawsuits continues to tighten: Gaydar intends to sue Govorukhin, who has stated that Yegor Timurovich "filched" (as he put it) a billion for the defense of democracy on the night of 3-4 October while Gaydar in turn could quite well be sued by Zhirinovskiy, whom the first vice premier called Hitler, while only a lazy person would fail to sue Zhirinovskiy for his "long tongue." Actually, Vladimir Volfovich is steering his line with virtuosity on the edge of a foul and has taught his audience to hear far more than he says.

The campaign trailers leave an oppressive feeling. To all appearances they are "molded" according to one principle: "Beat our opponents and save Russia!" What are we to make of the "horror movie clip" in which dancing to the music of Dima Malikov are interrupted by the appearance of a sinister group styled to resemble a Communist Youth League detachment for aiding the militia. Naturally, the dancing ends and they are told to "line up quietly" and stand to attention. It turns out this is happening 13 December, when "Comrade Zyukov" has come to power. Draw your own conclusion, they are saying. It is hard to call this method honest. In general for some reason their authors try to make all these little movies not "for" but "against." And "against" in such a way that even the slow-witted can understand that if "they" win then they will shoot you on the 13th, my friend.

Can you not behave more quietly, gentlemen? As it is, it is as though we were not electing candidates to parliament but hurriedly mobilizing troops for the red and white armies.

Candidates' 9-21 Nov Air Time Allocation Analyzed

PM0612121793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Election News: Marshal Shaposhnikov Confined Himself to 30 Minutes, While Cosmonaut Sevastyanov Was 'Confined' to a Second"]

[Text] The first results of radio and television coverage of the Russian election campaign call into question the possibility of equal access to the mass media, Russian-U.S. Press Center experts, who analyzed 143 television programs and 35 hours of radio broadcasts devoted to the elections, said today.

According to the experts, 9 through 21 November there was a total of 49 hours of programming devoted to the elections on TV Channels One, Two, and Five. The most airtime was accorded to "Russia's Choice" candidate Yegor Gaydar (one hour 31 minutes), Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] candidate Sergey Shakhray (56 minutes), and Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RMDR] candidate Svyatoslav Fedorov (38 minutes).

Arkadiy Volskiy, leader of the "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress, had only 18 minutes, while Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] had around 10 minutes. By and large there was around five hours of coverage of "Russia's Choice" election activity, one hour 39 minutes for the PRUA, one hour for "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress," and 14 minutes for the CPRF.

Radio Rossii accorded most airtime 9 through 21 November to Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov [RMDR]—27 minutes—and to Sergey Shakhray (PRUA] and Sergey Filatov ("Russia's Choice")—three minutes—while at the same time Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia received three seconds' airtime and candidate deputies Valentin Chikin and Vitaliy Sevastyanov (both from the CPRF) received one second each (?!).

Russian-U.S. Press Center personnel noted that work has already begun with material enabling a more fundamental study devoted to analyzing the work of the mass media during the election campaign and the elections themselves.

Federal Assembly Deputies Must Relinquish Other Duties

LD0312182493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1217 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Newly-elected Federal Assembly deputies must relinquish all responsibilities incompatible with their new status within three days after the Central Election Commission announces election returns. This is stated in a decision passed by the commission on Friday.

A Federal Assembly member is legally barred from any job besides that of an artist or teacher. A presidential decree makes an exemption for cabinet members, who are allowed to alternate government work with parliamentary duties.

Commission Discusses New Status of Parliamentarians

LD0612113593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 6 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Russian society needs a professional parliament answerable to the people. This must be the key provision of the new law on status of the deputy, according to Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the commission on legislative proposals under the president of the Russian Federation.

The first draft of the bill "On the Status of the Deputy of the Federation Council and the State Duma (First Convocation)" is being discussed by the commission on Monday. Hearings are attended by representatives of the electoral groupings which have nominated candidates for the State Duma and jurists from the major institutes and state agencies.

The two chambers of the Federal Assembly will have differing tasks and different scope of authority. This is why their deputies should also differ in status, jurists say.

The deputies to the Federation Council will not work on a standing basis, but only along with another, main job. The deputies of the State Duma will work on a standing, professional basis. In this context, the bill stipulates that the deputies of the lower chamber may not be employed as civil servants or engage in other paid activity with the exception of teaching, research or other creative endeavour. One exception is made for the deputies in the first convocation of the parliament, who are also members of the government.

The bill defines the rights and duties of the deputies and the main guarantee of their activity. Mikhail Milyukov noted that the proposed bill is not free from "cliches borrowed from the previous law on the status of the deputy, but it contains new provisions relating in particular, to the character of parliamentarian activity, the possibility of association in factions and other groupings, on the pre-term termination of a deputy's mandate".

Today's hearings are expected to work out proposals for the final version of the bill.

Election Campaign in Regions Reported

LD0312162793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1348 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 3—Only a little more than a week is left before the Russian Federal Assembly elections and the referendum on the draft constitution. The country is finishing its preparations for this historic event. The campaign is proceeding calmly in Saint Petersburg. At a meeting between heads of regional administration and chairmen of district electoral commissions it was announced that there have been no serious complaints registered in the electoral commissions, which are supposed to regulate preparations for the big expression of popular will.

The chairman of the coordinating group for elections to the State Duma deputy mayor Valeriy Malyshev urged leaders of local administrations to organize public meetings where lawyers and politicists can explain the draft constitution to the voters.

"About half of the voters in Bryansk region have already looked through text of the draft constitution, which was published in practically every district and regional paper", ITAR-TASS was told by Ivan Pyrkh, the deputy head of the district administration who is also acting as chairman of a working group for the advocation of the draft constitution.

The opposition regional bloc, Peoples' Unity was forbidden by the Bryansk city authorities from continuing to printing its leaflets. About 400 thousand of the bloc's leaflets did not meet the standards required for electoral campaign propaganda. They were judged libellous by the district electoral commission, which thought the leaflets contained a call to vote against the draft constitution, and false information about the basic law's contents.

The Stavropol district electoral commission for Constituency 56 urged the Federal Electoral Commission to reconsider its decision to register deputy director of the

Stavropol territorial administration's department of social problems Sergey Popov as a candidate to the State Duma. The conflict between the local and central electoral commissions arose because the district commission refused to approve popov's registration, since he submitted incorrect registration papers. The central commission cancelled that decision upon the defendant's appeal. The district commission noted that the central electoral commission exceeded its powers when it approved popov's registration as a candidate, since the election regulations stipulate that a candidate who was rejected for registration may appeal only to a court.

Head of the Maritime region (in Russia's Far East) Yevgeniy Nazdratenko met voters in the free economic zone "Nakhodka" and asked them not to vote for those politicians who attack their rivals. According to Nazdratenko, some of the candidates are demagogues pretending to defend the people. He did not specify who these demagogues were, but observers think that some of them, who are counting on the poor (which are plenty in the Maritime territory), have a fair chance of getting into the State Duma.

"We have completed the hardest and most thankless part", well- known economist Pavel Bunich said at a public meeting in Yaroslavl. "1994 will be a year of stabilisation if we do not give up on reforms", Bunich, a Russia's Choice representative, added. In response to voters' questions, he explained his bloc's position regarding property rights, social security for the elderly, and the government's financial policies.

Campaign Needs Proper Explanation of Proposed Policies

PM0312144193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 1

[Lyubov Tsukanova article: "Don't Confuse Popularity with Populism! Democrats Losing Momentum. Will They Regain the Initiative?"]

[Text] The opinion that "Russia's Choice" and the other democratic blocs have a distinct advantage in the election campaign has been grossly exaggerated. As yet, "Russia's Choice" has not showed the future voters anything of substance but for an unsuccessful short special campaign film. The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RMDR] is using Gazmanov for all his worth: The songs are not bad but the RMDR's pieces have added almost nothing to our knowledge of this political movement. Shakhray's Party of Russian Unity and Accord has also still said nothing significant about itself. Only Yavlinskiy's team, in the person of Yavlinskiy himself, has finally begun to explain why it is striving to get into parliament. At the moment the faces and voices of the "opposition" blocs are far more in evidence on television and radio. We have realized pretty well what Zyuganov, Zhirinovskiy, and Travkin want (or, to be more precise, what they do not want). But we now want to hear what those, with whom it is accepted we associate the future of democratic Russia, are striving and calling for.

It is, of course, possible to explain everything in terms of the allocation of airtime, tactical planning, and, finally, an overscrupulous approach. But looking at the calendar you see that 10 days remain before the elections. We have heard enough of Zhirinovskiy, and many people have already stopped switching on their television sets in the evening during "prime-time" viewing. It may so happen that when the democrats finally get talking, they will be broadcasting into a dark void.

Equal opportunities clearly mean more than just being strictly assigned a free slot on the air. They mean first and foremost giving voters an opportunity to discover what the people who are going into the legislative branch of power represent, and what they will be taking to it. As an ordinary voter, I want to have some details. I can take or leave the idea that Gaydar means the country well. It is nevertheless better to know why in particular the policies he is proposing are the right ones. Or why he considers this to be true. Yavlinskiy has already replaced his snobbish, intellectual style of presentation with a sincere and proselytizing one. Thanks are due to him for this: When people give serious and simple explanations, this not only raises questions but also inspires confidence. Gaydar never was snobbish, but it seems that it is high time that he too replaced his dispassionate, overly laconic style with a more discursive and popular one.

You should not confuse popularity with populism. A promise of cheap sausage is not the same as a coherent explanation of why foodstuffs here cannot be cheap for the time being. We have known for a long time that our people are very patient. But respect for them lies not only in not making unrealizable promises to them. There is much more respect to be found in a comprehensible and open explanation of the actual policy you are pursuing. At the moment "Russia's Choice," and indeed the other democrats, are mostly acting as guides for the blind: I can see, therefore I will take you where things are good. A wiser person, if he does not make everybody see, will at least teach them not to be afraid of the road.

Generally speaking, so far not a single participant in the election campaign has realized that you can win in the elections not so much by offering your assistance as a leader, as by explaining in popular terms how a real person can rely on his own resources and not just survive but flourish in these difficult living conditions. Our politicians do not have experience of communicating with the masses. You get the impression that only one of the contenders has selected a skilled team of psychologists. But common sense should tell us that if we want a democratic parliament, then we must get the folk to be enthusiastic about this common task right now, during these few remaining days. That is you and me. The people, that is.

Regional, Far East MD Campaigns Reported

PM0312143393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Roundup prepared by Sergey Knyazkov: "People's Prosperity More Important Than Political Differences"]

[Text] In the Altay Republic 11 candidate deputies for the new Russian parliament have already been registered. According to Vasiliy Maksimov, chief of Altay Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium state and law department, the contenders include PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord], and the "Altay's Choice" sociopolitical association.

The "Altay's Choice" supporters are based on a wide spectrum of views on the economic development of the republic's potential as an equal component of the Federation. It is no accident, our correspondent Aleksandr Veklich stresses, since as of today very rich stocks of coal, gold, silver, and other minerals which could become the basis for increasing Altay's prosperity have been discovered in the small republic's subterranean depths.

Aleksandr Borisov, a contender for a deputy's seat in the State Duma, believes that the right to buy and sell land could be a serious obstacle on the path of Altay's economic development. Already visitors from the Transcaucasus and the European states have become frequent visitors here, offering millions of dollars for each hectare of Altay land. It is clear from the election campaign that the question of the right to own land also occupies a central place for Altay candidates.

But perhaps the keenest struggle has developed for seats in the republic's new representative organ, which is the supreme organ and is now called the Aelkurultay, which means State Assembly. Here there are six to eight candidates for each deputy's seat. Elections to the supreme organs of Russia and the republic will be held simultaneously.

The barometer of the political life of the Tyva Republic predicts a certain activeness among the population with regard to the forthcoming elections and the referendum on the draft Russian Federation constitution, Aleksandr Veklich continues. Representatives of the "Sovereign Tyva" people's party, which stands on a platform of defending the interests of the republic in Russia's supreme state organs of power, dominate among the candidates nominated for the State Duma. Four candidates are registered from the republican communists' organization. Supporters of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA], the "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress," and the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc have nominated their representatives for the Federal Assembly. According to Chagay-Ool Mongush, deputy chairman of the district electoral commission, there will also be a vote in the republic on the nationwide approval of the Constitution of the Tyva Republic, examined and adopted at the republican parliament's recent 25th session.

A poll of the population by sociologists of the Ural cadres center has shown that the inhabitants of Sverdlovsk Oblast regard the proposals to resolve the economic problems and social issues to be the main thing in the candidate deputies' election platforms, our correspondent Leonid Pozdeyev attests. The future legislators' party allegiance is of least interest to their voters. Nonetheless of the 31 candidate deputies for the State Duma registered in the oblast's seventh single-seat districts 22 have been nominated on the party lists.

One third of the contenders for the deputies' seats are entrepreneurs and one fifth are apparatus workers. There are no workers and peasants among them and in the opinion of A. Vorobyev, department director and head of the oblast administration, this attests "to the nomination of real leaders who can influence the situation in the country."

The Sverdlovsk Duma candidates include two women. The average age of the candidates is 42, only two are under 30: The 26-year-old Andrey Silvanov, a Krasnoturinsk City administration worker, and his contemporary Oleg Dolganov from Yekaterinburg, who head a joint-stock company, are running in the elections as independents.

The struggle for seats in the Federation Council will be less tense. The two seats for this Federal Assembly chamber for Sverdlovsk's two-seat electoral district no. 66 are being disputed by three people: former oblast administration head Eduard Rossel, Galina Karelova, former deputy chairman of the oblast soviet, and Anatoliy Sysoyev, director of the Bogoslovskiy aluminum plant.

Our correspondent Aleksandr Bugay reports that the State Duma candidates' meetings with the population of the Volga region cities and villages show that a section of the population is gripped by political skepticism and is not familiar with the programs of the parties and associations which have received the right to nominate candidates. So that there is a danger that these people will not go the polling stations or will vote against everyone. Nor can we fail to consider natural conservatism and fear of the new. On the other hand the relative political and economic stability has convinced another section of the population to treat with understanding the policy of the president and government. It remains to be hoped that the broad discussion in the press and on television which has developed in the Volga Region oblasts will persuade people to come in any circumstances.

Well, what are the characteristics of the election campaign among the military units? Our correspondent Valeriy Usoltsev has visited many units of the Far East Military District and has not seen a single piece of the flurry which normally accompanies an election campaign, no portraits of candidate deputies, no heated,

persuasive speeches by deputy commanders for work with the personnel. "Everything is in accordance with the law," explained Colonel Yevgeniy Churayev, commander of a training division. "Our men know where they are to vote, they know who is running. And whom they choose is their personal business, we do not impose our own opinion."

The situation is the same in the other units of various garrisons of the Far East district. But it has emerged from talks with servicemen that the majority do not give their preference to any individual parties or blocs and intend to vote for a specific individual who has managed to give a good account of himself in practical work. For instance, Viktor Ishayev, Khabarovsk Kray Administration head, who has done a lot for the region and the troops stationed there, enjoys great prestige among the troops.

Actually, it is obvious that the vigorous election campaign by local democrats united under the "Russia's Choice" banner will not go unheeded by the kray's servicemen and population: It is they who have nominated the largest number of deputies to the city duma and Federal Assembly. As a whole the official list of candidate deputies to the Federal Assembly registered by the district electoral commission for Khabarovsk electoral district includes 10 people. They include scientists, teachers, a serviceman, and state employees. Incidentally, anticipating questions, I note that serviceman Nikolay Vasilyevich Bykov, born 1949, has been in service for a very long time—even before he was elected a kray soviet deputy. So that it is not out of the question that if he is elected a State Duma deputy he will still have to make up his mind whether to have politics or military service as his profession.

The elections are not a million miles away, as they say. But at the 116th electoral district, one of only a few in Russia, they will begin even early than the scheduled date—5 December—our correspondent Vladimir Gundarov reports from Severomorsk. The need for the early voting is caused by the whims of the Arctic weather, which could prevent the ballot papers from being delivered in time. They are being delivered to lighthouses and remote observations and communications posts of the Northern Fleet by the specially assigned Northern Fleet escort ship Ayanka. The district electoral commission and sector electoral commissions are also being helped by working groups for organizational and technical backup for the elections formed in the Northern Fleet formations and forces.

"So that we are not experiencing any overall difficulties," stressed Natalya Dyakonova, responsible secretary of the Severomorsk City headquarters for preparation for the elections. "And even a delay of a few days in the delivery of blank lists of voters has not influenced preparation for the elections.

In brief, the elections will take place...in any weather.

CP's Zyuganov Seen Sticking to Democratic Rules

PM0312114393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Feliks Babitskiy report under the "Cadres" rubric: "'Democrat' Zyuganov"]

[Text] We have already written about the politicians who remain in the shadows but play a key role in the election campaigns of their parties and blocs. However, among the famous leaders there are also those who do not give control of such important matters to an "eminence grise," but lead the campaign themselves. The latter include the "Democrat" Zyuganov.

Yes indeed, a democrat. I do not know who is more shocked by the words—Zyuganov himself or those who call themselves democrats. But to give Gennadiy Andreyevich his due: No matter what his ideals may be, he is ideally suited for political activity amid democracy. And indeed he was actually taught the elementary lesson of democratic style by the old party nomenklatura, whose local provincial section he came from.

He appeared in Moscow in 1991 with the unequivocally expressed intention to "conquer" it, and immediately attracted attention. Three or four years earlier, another few functionaries from the regions, although at a higher level—Yeltsin, Kolbin, and Giaspov—had arrived in big-time politics, and they gave him a worthy example to imitate of how precisely you should conquer minds and hearts. Their subsequent fates were varied, but it was their style that Zyuganov copied precisely, thereby winning applause.

Thus, Gennadiy Andreyevich tried to be in the public eye as much as possible, traveled on foot, talked to people of all convictions, debating, defending his own convictions (or those presented as such) in a well-reasoned fashion, demonstrating maximum sincerity.

Speaking of the strictly democratic features of Zyuganov the politician, his exceptional law-abidingness must be stressed. Even one of the most odious slogans proclaimed by his party—"Yeltsin to Court!"—is graphic testimony of this: After all, it is "to court," rather than "to prison," or "for a black eye." Incidentally, the leader of the Communist Party knows how to use the democratic legal procedure very effectively in the fight against his opponents. Somehow I cannot remember offhand a single trial which he has lost.

A true democrat, Zyuganov is categorically opposed to force. Between 21 September and 3 October of this year he stayed put in the "White House," but no sooner had the guns thundered than he, condemning extremism, distanced himself from the gunmen, who included members of his own party. Why be surprised at this? In the final analysis, the disbandment of the old deputies, a significant proportion of whom represented the main rival of the Russian Communist Party in the fight for inheritance of the CPSU—the Socialist Party of the

Working People—and who included practically no Zyuganovite communists in its ranks, was in his favor. Now it will specifically be the Communist Party of the Russian Federation that will represent the left wing in the new parliament. So he is not offering his hand to his party comrades who defended the "White House" with weapon in hand, so that his opponents, who now have the real strength, do not isolate him from this area—that is to say, the election campaign. And so, the main proof that Zyuganov is a democrat is that he always respects the rules of the game proposed by his partners.

Shakhray Inrterviewed on PRUA Policies

PM0312122593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Russian Vice Premier S.M. Shakhray, leader of the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord," by unidentified correspondent: "Preserving the State. That is the 'Party of Russian Unity and Accord' Electoral Association's Main Goal"]

[Text] We are publishing a conversation with party leader S.M. Shakhray, Russian vice premier and chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Sergey Mikhaylovich, what is the main element of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord's program and how does it differ from the other parties and election blocs?

[Shakhray] The Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] is going to the elections with a political platform that reflects the aspirations of millions of Russians, inhabitants of big and small cities and villages deep in the Russia countryside, to live in peace, accord, and prosperity.

The idea for which the party was created and for which it entered the election race is the unification of Russian lands and the preservation of the Russian state. The path the party chose to achieve this end is that of uniting the common interests of autonomous and strong regions. The PRUA is the only Russian party to use this idea as the basis of its program goals. We view the economy and all other issues from the standpoint of regional and provincial interests.

Our formula for a new Russia is a socially orientated market economy, federalism, and local self-government.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How did the PRUA come to be created?

[Shakhray] The idea of the party grew out of the difficult experience of practical federalism and local self-government in Russia. Collaboration between the center and the regions provided experience of the achievement of accord. This experience showed that legal means alone are not enough to preserve and develop federal statehood; national political parties are needed as well. There was not a single national party on the party horizon upholding the principles of federalism and local self-government. The country and people needed the party—so the party was born.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What is the party's view of the question of early elections for the Russian Federation president?

[Shakhray] The party believes that the president's edict scheduling early presidential elections for 12 June should remain in force. We are not insisting on early elections, but we believe that since the president has made a declaration and issued an edict for the scrutiny of the Federal Assembly, it should make the final decision on the matter.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What can you say about the adoption of the Constitution at a referendum?

[Shakhray] We decided to vote in general for the proposed draft Constitution, although we take a negative view of a whole series of draft provisions. We will seek to amend these provisions in the new parliament.

We are not going to ruin the adoption of the Constitution on 12 December over disagreement on a number of points.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] In your view, does Russia need minister-deputies?

[Shakhray] A deputy's seat is incompatible with a ministership in presidential republics, when there is no collective government, but the president is not entitled to dissolve parliament and the actual parliament is elected under a majority system.

The draft constitution has something different in mind: The Council of Ministers is a collective body and it heads the system of executive authority for the whole of the Russian Federation; the president has the right to dissolve the State Duma, 50 percent of which is drawn from party lists. So there cannot be a government which is not supported by a political majority in parliament.

So the problem is not minister-deputies, but the functional demarcation of authority. Moreover, in view of the events of 3-4 October additional guarantees of collaboration are needed, and not confrontation between the legislative and executive authorities. Combining a deputy's seat and a ministership is one of them.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How does the party view the election of governors and other leaders of components of the Russian Federation to the Federation Council?

[Shakhray] Their election to the upper chamber of parliament will make it possible to coordinate general state interests with regional interests and will facilitate the implementation of decisions adopted by parliament. Without the active participation of regional leaders in the Federation Council there will not be an effective

federal policy and the federal principles of Russian statehood will not be strengthened.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Should the existing Russian Federation Government relinquish its powers to the newly elected parliament?

[Shakhray] Under the draft Constitution, no. But we believe that the current government must ask the new parliament for a vote of confidence and then it will have the moral and political right to continue to exercise its powers.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What is the party's view of the 21 September 1993 edict No. 1400 of the Russian Federation president?

[Shakhray] We see this edict as a measure that is necessary and warranted in the particular circumstances. The edict envisaged extremely peaceful means of overcoming the dyarchy, stipulating that the question of pwoer be put to the voters, for the brief transitional period until the Russian parliament is formed.

[Interview incorporates following boxed note]

Economy:

The PRUA advocates continuation of the course of reforms, major, fundamental transformations, the speediest solution of the crisis, and the creation of civilized market relations.

Privatization:

It is a very important element in the formation of market relations and creation of conditions for prudent management. Privatization is the way to form a broad stratum of private owners, who will be the basis of stability in the country and of the formation of a civil society.

Social policy:

It is the creation for the entire able-bodied section of society of economic and legal conditons that enable people to secure their own well-being through their own labor and skill.

Yavlinskiy Speaks on Constitution, Regional Tour

LD0312193093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1728 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—"The legitimacy of the parliament will be determined not by the results of the referendum but only by elections," Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the bloc: "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin", said at a meeting with candidates to the Moscow duma on Friday. "Nothing frightful will happen if the draft constitution is not adopted at a referendum. In this event a new parliament will further elaborate it," the leader of the bloc pointed out.

Consultations among four democratic blocs as regards the nomination of a single candidate are being carried on today, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy said in reply to a question by ITAR-TASS correspondent. At the same time, he noted, his bloc does not intend to cooperate with the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Liberal Democratic Party and the Agrarian Party during the elections.

Touching on the results of his recent trip to Russian regions, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy expressed hope that after meetings with voters their bloc can count approximately on 20 per cent of seats in the future parliament.

Volskiy Sees Electoral Coalition Impossible

MK0312120093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 87, 3 Dec 93 (signed to press 2 Dec) p 2

[Dmitriy Kuznets report under the "Centrists" rubric: "Arkadiy Volskiy Prefers a Majority System"]

[Text] Like the majority of electoral blocs out to garner at least 5 percent of the votes, Civic Union declares that "the outcome of the elections will be determined by the votes of those who are still undecided." Thus far, Civic Union is getting none of the required support from Russian voters. Realizing this, Union leader Arkadiy Volskiy has announced that, as far as he is concerned, the main thing is not a victory for Civic Union, but a victory by the maximum number of the bloc's candidates in one-candidate districts. In his opinion, at least 30 Civic Union candidates out of the 90 registered will make it to the State Duma. That would undoubtedly enable Civic Union to form a faction in the lower chamber of parliament. The chances of Civic Union candidates can really be assessed as high—most of them are directors of big plants who enjoy authority in their districts.

Mr. Volskiy, who only recently evinced the desire to "coordinate actions" with nearly all the blocs, stated that it was completely impossible to form any kind of electoral unions. He believes that the election system implies a tough competition of lists and candidates. One would think there is one more explanation for Civic Union's going it alone. None of those with whom Civic Union conducted talks would coordinate anything with Volskiy. True, leaders of the Union hope they will be able to set up cooperation in the Duma with the Agrarian Party or some other "kindred spirit" parties.

Like most other blocs, Civic Union has based its election campaign on criticizing the government and Russia's Choice, the leader in the election race in which Volskiy, Vladislavlev, and Rumyantsev are clearly behind not only Govorukhin and Travkin of the Democratic Party of Russia, but also even Yavlinskiy and Boldyrev of "Yabloko." It is these two blocs that can "snatch away" the votes of those who earlier supported Civic Union. The Civic Union continues to accuse Russia's Choice of all mortal sins and thinks this is a winning tactic. Neither Volskiy nor other centrists, or the rest of the opposition, are perturbed over the absence of their own positive gains.

Interviewed on Party's Program

PM0612125193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, by Valeriy Vyzhutovich and other IZVESTIYA journalists at IZVESTIYA editorial office; date not given: "Arkadiy Volskiy: Russia Can Only Be Saved By People Without Hatred in Their Eyes"]

[Text] Arkadiy Volskiy is president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [RUIE]. He was born in 1932 in the city of Dobrush, Gomel Oblast. On graduating from Moscow's Steel Institute he worked as a foreman, sector chief, workshop chief, and party committee secretary at ZIL. From 1970 through 1988 he held senior posts in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, including that of head of the machine building department; he was economic assistant to Central Committee General Secretary Yu. Andropov.

In 1989-1990 Volskiy was head of the Committee for the Special Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. He then founded the USSR's science and industry union and became its president. In 1991-1992 he was cochairman of the Movement for Democratic Reforms and later became one of the founding fathers of the All-Russia "Renewal" Union. He played a significant role in "Civic Union" before announcing that he was quitting last December.

In the elections to the State Duma Arkadiy Volskiy is emerging as the number one man in the "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress" bloc. As the ideological leader of the Russian industrial establishment, Arkadiy Volskiy is a staunch and consistent opponent of political and economic radicalism. In principle favoring reform, he thinks that this task "must be reduced not to the total destruction of the existing national economic complex, but to the most reasonable possible transformation of that complex into a market economy, including by the creation of an effective mechanism of state enterprise, a contract system, and cartel agreements."

Many journalists and political observers have of late been pondering the "Volskiy enigma." Some consider him the "most influential backstage politician," a "master of political intrigue," a "man who makes ministers," while others have firmly dubbed him a "member of the nomenklatura," a "party apparatchik," "champion of a strong state," and generally describe him as a "puffed up figure." Both sides agree that Volskiy is "hypercautious," "loves to keep in the background," and has a "precise sense of the current state of play." Aware of these descriptions, Volskiy is in no hurry to either confirm or deny them, but still behaves true to type. Which was to some extent borne out by his conversation with IZVESTIYA's journalists.

[IZVESTIYA] After the tragic events of October centrists were bad-mouthed with equal fervor by both the radical democrats on the one hand and the communists and national-patriots on the other. The former accused you and your confederates of covertly supporting Rutskoy and Khasbulatov, and the latter of aiding and abetting the president. Do you share the view that the political center has at any rate collapsed and no longer exists?

[Volskiy] I do not think that centrism is a "bog" [boloto] as Lenin thought, but a political movement capable of stopping all manner of extremes. It is primarily a quest for compromise and a desire to avoid confrontation. It is a question of setting real rather than hare-brained goals. Finally, it involves making constructive and not destructive efforts. If that is the kind of centrism you are talking about, it will never die since there will always be politicians able to tailor their activity not only to meet requirements, but also—and this is very important—to the aims and potential of the state and society at a particular period in their development.

[IZVESTIYA] It is precisely the current situation that we are discussing. Will centrist ideas be required in our extreme political conditions when society is profoundly split and polarized?

[Volskiy] It is today that demand for these ideas is increasing. We have grown tired of political confrontation, everyone has grown crazy as a result of the fierce, fruitless struggle in the upper echelons of power. If you analyze election public opinion polls, you will see that along with "Russia's Choice," marked preference is being given to Shakhray's party and the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc, which are at the moment shunning all radicalism. Our electoral bloc is precisely the same, it by and large supports reform and is trying to uphold the evolutionary path of transformations.

Remember how shock therapy began. Gorbachev resigned 25 December 1991, and 2 January we announced to the whole world the possibility of building capitalism in one republic alone—Russia. I went around offices and almost implored Burbulis, Silayev, and Gaydar not to rush things, but wait just a couple of months. I said, let's make up our minds how we are going to cooperate in the future with the former Union republics. Let us, I tried to persuade them, conclude economic agreements first. How can prices be relaxed in Russia alone when a unified financial system still exists throughout the ruins of the USSR, when the ruble is in circulation everywhere... We do after all know from world experience that price liberalization is the last step in economic reform, and no builder starts building a staircase with the last rung, but that was where we began. The consequences are obvious. Production this year was around half of the 1989 level, and one of the reasons for that is the severing of economic ties between enterprises in the various republics.

The Soviet Union has collapsed. Russia, which took several centuries to develop, has collapsed. It did, moreover, develop as a single great factory.... Now many of

the former Union republics have left the ruble zone. That represents a tragedy for the industrial enterprises that supply one another with output. Because at the moment no one knows precisely the value of the manat, the tenge, or the soma. And since that is the case, mutual settlements are not being made. I recently told Finance Minister Boris Fedorov the following: Russia has forced itself out of the ruble zone. That is indeed the case. Now the ratio of any monetary unit to the ruble is fixed by the local authorities, be they the authorities in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, or Kyrgyzstan, for instance. It's absurd....

[IZVESTIYA] But why is it absurd? The Balts did the same, but their currency units carry clout.

[Volskiy] That clout has already halved. It has decreased as much as agricultural production in the Baltic republics has decreased.

[IZVESTIYA] But if you take a different view of economic reforms and compare their progress in Uzbekistan, Ukraine, and Russia, say. There is a different philosophy behind the transformations, a different degree of radicalism.... And different results. No one is saying that the results in Russia are remarkable, but comparisons can nonetheless be made. And in whose favor are they?

[Volskiy] No one has achieved any good results. The main point is that there can be no good results.

[IZVESTIYA] But there are obvious facts, they must be evaluated.

[Volskiy] OK, let's evaluate them. I have data on every republic. Life in Turkmenistan is better than anywhere. The republic has free transport today and bread costing six rubles.... But that will all come to an end in around four years once the republic's gas reserves are exhausted. No, I agree that Russia is by no means bottom in terms of standard of living among the CIS countries, but somewhere in the middle. But at what price? Our election bloc intends to strive to ensure that the price of the transition from socialism to capitalism is not so high. [Volskiy ends]

Extract from the "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress" appeal to Russia's voters:

"We see Russia as a strong, stable, self-confident, multiethnic state, resting on the great legacy of its thousand-year history. We want to preserve and augment the distinctive traditions of its equal peoples....

"Our principles for reform are as follows:

"—reliance on the country's own efforts, priority development of the internal market.... We reject the methods of shock therapy, the use of which has already brought the national economy to the verge of collapse;

"—a managed national economy;

"—privatization is not the end in itself. It is a means of boosting the effectiveness of the economy, a way to revive production of goods and services, not a means of plundering the people's assets;

"—preservation of the historic economic ties and traditional markets for Russian goods;

"—state control over foreign trade in raw materials and energy sources;

"—economic equality between town and country....

"We advocate the consistent defense of the social and working interests of women, an effective demographic policy, protection of mother and child....

"We advocate a fair system of pension provision which takes into consideration labor contribution and services to the country and society....

"We advocate state programs designed to restore and strengthen the people's health....

"We advocate lasting concord between the peoples of the former USSR....

"We advocate an effective foreign and defense policy whereby Russia does not betray friends, does not seek enemies, and upholds its right to have and defend the interests of a great power...."

[Volskiy] Many people criticize me—IZVESTIYA among them—for my bias toward Chinese experience. And I do not tire of repeating that this experience is beneficial for us. It at least needs serious study.

[IZVESTIYA] Should the Russian people be swapped for the Chinese in order to introduce this experience to Russia?

[Volskiy] No.

[IZVESTIYA] But the Chinese have a far worse life.

[Volskiy] They have a different life. They do indeed sleep on the ground. They may not have the means to exist. We also have a sufficient number of people like that. But that is not what I am talking about now. I am saying that a country that was hungry in the recent past has managed to feed 1.2 billion of its fellow citizens in four years.

[IZVESTIYA] But how?

[Volskiy] Let me tell you. They provide 298kg of fertilizer per hectare, whereas we provide 28.

[IZVESTIYA] Russian kolkhozes at one time used a gigantic amount of these fertilizers. And what was the result, did we have an abundance of food? Perhaps it is not a question of fertilizer, but of the fact that land in China was handed over to private ownership earlier than it was in Russia?

[Volskiy] That is indeed a factor, I am not disputing that. But let us study the Chinese system of state support for small and middling business.

[IZVESTIYA] It has been studied and everyone has long been aware of it.

[Volskiy] It has not! I recently said: Until Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov go to China for economic experience, we will continue plaguing our people with shock therapy. There are things to study in China. A private commodity producer there does not pay tax, and that is why he produces a 60-percent increase in output. While a private trader, for instance, pays 25 percent to the treasury and a private businessman 50 percent.

[IZVESTIYA] You are overlooking one important detail: China does not have the huge army that we have and the kind of defense spending that we do.

[Volskiy] OK, let us leave China aside. Take Korea. Nine gigantic corporations there control the whole national economy and produce 90 percent of the national revenue.

[IZVESTIYA] Why do you think that the Russian Government is not addressing Chinese and Korean experience? Because this experience is unacceptable to us or because we have already gone too far down the path of economic radicalism?

[Volskiy] Most likely the latter.

[IZVESTIYA] But our chosen path politically means liberation from totalitarianism.

[Volskiy] Well he we go again.... I have already grown tired of hearing people say: Volskiy is proposing to copy the Chinese because he wants to revert to the communist party playing a leading role as it does in China. I do not want that! I am not at all interested in the Chinese political system. China's leaders said to me: For God's sake, don't copy our political experience, everything is different in our country from yours after all. There is no question of Russia's reverting to a Communist regime whatever way you look at it. Why claim that I am nostalgic for totalitarianism? I am talking about something quite different—about the essential proportions in state regulation of the economy and uncontrolled market forces. We are arguing about the percentage of enterprises that should remain under state ownership. Is that really of any importance? In Italy 52 percent of enterprises belong to the state, are the Italians worse off because of it? On the contrary, they have a develped market where no one is interested in which enterprise—a state, private, or joint-stock venture—has produced tires, for instance. If you make better ones than your competitors, people will buy them from you.

[IZVESTIYA] You were one of the leaders of "Civic Union" with Aleksandr Rutskoy. What is your view of this man's political evolution?

[Volskiy] I joined "Civic Union" last August and left in December, and made a public statement to that effect. I left because Aleksandr Vladimirovich was monopolizing the right to speak on behalf of "Civic Union." His opinions and statements were considerably at variance with mine. I had one conversation with him, then a second, a third, and a fourth—all to no avail. The day before the referendum we beseeched him to make it up with the president, but he refused again, this was our fifth conversation.... That was how my decision came into being. It was not opportunistic, since at the time Rutskoy's rating was second only to the president. I remember we were sitting at a table like this and I suggested: Let us officially say that none of us is applying for a government post. What did I spark off then! Everyone in turn began trying to persuade me that all political organizations are set up in order to fight for power. In short, everyone refused to sign my proposed statement. So I then left "Civic Union." Because I do not aspire to hold any post in the government. How often have I already said: I am willing to be just the president...of the RUIE. [Volskiy ends]

The "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress" electoral list is headed by: RUIE President Arkadiy Volskiy; KamAZ General Director Nikolay Bekh, Aleksandr Vladislavlev, chairman of the All-Russia "Renewal" Union; "Kirovskiy Zavod" General Director Petr Semenenko; movie director Vladimir Menshov, former people's deputy Oleg Rumyantsev; Fleet Admiral and Hero of the Soviet Union Vladimir Chernavin; Vasiliy Lipitskiy, leader of the "Free Russia" People's Party and deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociopolitical Studies; the singer Iosif Kobzon; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Aleksandr Tsipko; Journalist Pavel Voshchanov, the Russian president's former press secretary; Konstantin Lubenchenko, former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and associate professor at Moscow State University's law faculty...

In the election campaign the "Civic Union for Stability, Justtice, and Progress" is relying on the support of the Agrarian Party since, in the opinion of Arkadiy Volskiy, the "union of the hammer and sickle has still not outlived itself."

[IZVESTIYA] What kind of parties or associations are your current and potential allies?.

[Volskiy] Primarily Shakhray's party. Its program contains a great deal of what I have been saying for two years now: reforms without shock therapy, enhanced manageability of the national economy, reliance on the regions.... Nikolay Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia has roughly the same guidelines.... But you say that the center has collapsed. It has not collapsed, just fragmented.... You can criticize our bloc's program. Is it more conservative than the "Russia's Choice" program? Yes, undoubtedly. Is this conservatism reasonable? I think it is. Regrettably, the very word "conservatism" has almost become a term of abuse in Russia. But it is a normal word, why be ashamed of it....

[IZVESTIYA] Let us not talk about words; that us not the point. Whatever you say, obviously some major Russian industrialists, primarily the so-called "red directors" have their highly specific interests.... And is it not true that they are precisely the interests that "Civic Union" reflects?

[Volskiy] No, you're wrong. You must not confuse "Civic Union" with the RUIE. The latter does indeed reflect the interests of the corps of directors, the industrial sphere. But "Civic Union" does not have any influence over these people and has no intention of exerting any. I would even go further and say that if the RUIE entered the election campaign without forming a bloc with anyone, we could count on a broader electorate.

[IZVESTIYA] So, you have acted to your own detriment?

[Volskiy] We listened to the sociologists you see. It transpired from their polls that "Civic Union" allegedly has a high enough rating. And we believed that....

[IZVESTIYA] A week ago Agrarian Party Chairman Mikhail Lapshin was speaking in this room forecasting the kind of discord in the future parliament that we saw in the former Supreme Soviet. Is your forecast more optimistic?

[Volskiy] No, I am of the same opinion. What is more, I think that the battle will become even more embittered. And do you know why? Because there is seen to be clear disorder in the government. I toured 11 oblasts and everywhere I saw local leaders reproducing the unseemly fighting among the elite. All I heard was this: Do you support Chernomyrdin or Gaydar? Do you support Fedorov or Shokhin? Haven't we had enough "civil war" in the cabinet of ministers.

[IZVESTIYA] To what do you attribute the—to put it mildly—incompatibility among certain members of the cabinet?

[Volskiy] I have not thought about it. The chaps all seem intelligent and competent.... However, let us be frank. We initially counted on some ministers' taking part in our bloc. But "Russia's Choice" got in first and enlisted 16 members of the top leadership to its ranks, not a single sectoral minister among them.

[IZVESTIYA] Did you not consider them your confederates?

[Volskiy] Yes, probably. But, believe you me, they are by no means opposed to reforms. Nor are they opposed to the government's course. Why put up "class" barricades? I well understand all the industrial ministers, there are 11 of them, who refused to stand for any parties and blocs. I consider it a dishonest election campaign method when the idea is foisted on public opinion that only "Russia's Choice" favors reforms, that Gaydar's team alone is the president's mainstay. We too favor profound economic reform, we simply take a different view of it. You know, in China a poster proclaiming "Don't rush. Stop. Think. Then move on" hangs at every intersection. I am not calling for reforms to be suspended. But we must all stop. And think. And only then move on.

Further Comments

LD0512105593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 0830 GMT on 5 December broadcasts a 23-minute interview with Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, leader of the Civic Union in the name of Stability, Justice, and Progress and leader of the Russian Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Union, by correspondent Vladimir Stanoviskiy.

Volskiy begins by speaking about his recent visits to Dagestan, Krasnodar Kray, St. Petersburg, and Nizhnyy Novgorod and notes that the majority of the members of his bloc are from the regions. It is clear from his visits that there is a strong need for state regulation of the markets in order to halt the slump in production and to slow down inflation. Civic Union's party program is widely publicized and printed in the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper. There is wide support for this program and it is to be hoped that this will be reflected at the polling stations. He rejects criticism in some quarters of this program, and notes that many other parties have taken Civic Union's program as a basis.

Volskiy believes that freeing prices is the final rung on the ladder of the transition to a market, but first a market infrastructure has to be built. The reforms would have progressed quicker if we had signed an economic treaty between the republics. He calls for a referendum in Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan on setting up a confederation between them. Much can be learned from the experience of other countries regarding the privatization process, and while encouraging foreign investment, we must also protect and encourage our own manufacturers.

Volskiy ends with the point that some 31 percent of the population—the silent majority as he calls them—have not yet made up their minds how to vote, and it is they who will determine the outcome of the election. Come over to us, he asks.

Democrats Fail To Agree on Single Election Strategy

MK0312103093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 4

[Yevgeniy Yanayev report: "Democrats Unable To Unite So Far"]

[Text] Leaders of two democratic electoral associations—Sergey Shakhray of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, and Aleksandr Yakovlev of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms—came out yesterday with statements on the impossibility of creating a single electoral bloc of democrats.

Sergey Shakhray, Russian vice premier and leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, said in Yekaterinburg that his party is not going to form any blocs with anyone, including Russia's Choice. "Blocs would crumble in parliament, the voters would be deceived," he stressed. Shakhray did not rule out the possibility of cooperation with democratic and centrist blocs and parties in territorial districts.

In his turn, Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of the leaders of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, also spoke of a total failure of the talks between the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, Russia's Choice, and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc in a bid to hammer out a single election strategy. Thus Yakovlev in fact repudiated Anatoliy Sobchak's statement heard several days before about contacts having been arranged between the four democratic blocs.

Supposedly, the main reason for the failed talks was not differences over the democratic bloc's platforms but rather the fact that their leaders belong in different groups that are now jockeying for power in the Russian leadership. Whereas Russia's Choice comprises the entire monetarist wing of today's government, Sergey Shakhray is siding with a more pragmatic premier who expresses the interests of Russia's major industrial directors.

Speaking on 1 December at a meeting with workers in Perm, Shakhray pointed out that the party he leads is against "cavalry methods of reforms." The prime minister advised in this connection that the Party of Russian Unity and Accord would support those members of the Council of Ministers who had come into the government from industry. He also stated that the government should think about measures to help mechanical-engineering and oil enterprises, and about a protection for the national market against American products, especially in strategic sectors.

The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, with no representatives in the government, is now trying to secure the votes of supporters of the moderate opposition by making numerous critical remarks about the current authorities. One may, however, suppose that this criticism is largely tactical. A union between Russia's Choice and the Yavlinskiy bloc seems rather more natural than between Russia's Choice and Sergey Shakhray's party. This supposition is backed by the fact that these electoral associations support the same candidates in many Russian regions and by the fact that they have the same source of financial and technical assistance—the Most financial group.

Zaveryukha Admits Agrarian Party 'Not Popular Enough'

LD0312184893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1752 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Starukhin]

[Text] Voronezh December 3 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Zaveryukha admitted on Friday that his Agrarian Party is not popular enough, but said he hoped it would occupy a worthy place in the future parliament.

"The Agrarian Party does not yet enjoy a special influence, but united with agricultural trade unions and other organisations it will occupy a worthy place in the State Duma... and will exert influence on the formation of the agrarian policy in Russia", he told a press conference.

The Agrarian Party protects the interests of agricultural producers, especially of state and collective farms, but Zaveryukha said that the countryside will develop thanks to competition from private farmers.

"Private farmers do not currently produce the necessary amount of food, but they, as competitors, made state and collective farms work better. I am sure that the countryside will strengthen thanks to that and various forms of property should not be contrapposed", he said adding that private farmership should be actively supported.

Zaveryukha played down fears that cattle-breeding is declining in Russia. Private farmers have compensated for the decline in state and collective farms, according to him. "In general the balance was preserved in Russia and meat production has even increased", he said.

The Agricultural deputy prime minister, who used to criticise the government for refusing to subsidise the countryside, admitted that such a tough financial policy serves as a "incentive for a disciplined and efficient work in the village".

But he also said that such a policy is a result of "misunderstanding by certain political leaders of the sources and the depth of problems in the countryside". He did not elaborate.

Election Program Features Civic Union, Social Democrats

LD0312152993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0430 GMT on 3 December carries an election program with Konstantin Lubenchenko of the Civic Union and Oleg Rumyantsev, chairman of the Russian Social Democratic Center.

Lubenchenko begins by saying that those who have more money are at an advantage during the current election campaign.

Rumyantsev notes that many new laws now being pushed through are redundant and that the Constitutional Court ought to be strengthened and the campaign against Valeriy Zorkin, its former chairman, should be stopped. He condemns the warnings, which he says come from the highest level, that opposition leaders ought to

stick to their election programs and refrain from attacking the constitution. He describes this as attempts to gag them.

Lubenchenko emphasizes the importance of working closely with those who elected him, his own constituency. One of the most important problems is to protect the citizen from the arbitrariness of the state, which is a constitutional problem. Currently one man controls the directorate in charge of vital supplies to what passes for branches of power in this country and hence one man can control the courts, government, Duma, deputies, and so on, he states. This was never the case, not even under Stalin, he adds.

Rumyantsev says the way out of this is to adopt relevant laws and an equitable taxation system. The Civic Union would advocate relations of partnership between the workers, unions, and employers and these would underpin a new way of setling collective labor disputes. Regions would be properly represented at the central level, in keeping with their importance. Development would be stable, devoid of shocks.

'Voters Hour' Program Broadcast 3 Dec

LD0312213993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 3 December carries a scheduled "Voter's Hour" election program featuring the Agrarian Party of Russia, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, and the Women of Russia political movement.

The Agrarian Party of Russia 20-minute slot includes an address by party chairman Aleksandr Zaveryukha. He begins by giving his background, and then laments the sharp drop in agricultural production over the last years. He says that this could have been avoided, but admits that the government has taken measures to stabilize the agro-industrial complex and allocated additional credits and subsidies. However, he points out that as of 1 July the government's debt to agricultural manufacturers amounted to 700 billion rubles. Zaveryukha advocates the priority development of the agro-industrial complex.

Moving on to his party's political platform, Zaveryukha says: "The Agrarian Party does not state its opposition to the president, nor to the government. The Agrarian Party bloc and its program can lay the foundation for uniting all healthy forces in the future parliament who are concerned with the fate of their fatherland."

He continues: "The Agrarian Party is consistently advocating reforms based on the understanding that the market is not the final goal but a means of increasing the effectiveness of production and improving the living standards of the Russian people. The Agrarian bloc advocates the development of all forms of ownership in rural areas."

Zaveryukha says: "We advocate a reasonable privatization of enterprises in the food and food-processing industries." Concluding his presentation, he says: "The members of the Agrarian Party are well aware that it will be possible to implement our election platform only if there is civic peace and accord. We advocate the development of democracy, preservation of the state and territorial integrity of Russia, and the guaranteed democratic and cultural development of all the subjects of our Russian Federation. In order to achieve our goals we are ready to cooperate with all political, public and civic movements and associations."

The Party of Russian Unity and Accord 20-minute slot includes a prerecorded 26 October 1993 interview with Sergey Shakhray carried in the "Around the Kremlin: Letters to Sergey Shakhray" program on Russian Television on 26 October.

The Women of Russia Political Movement 20-minute slot includes Alevtina Fedulova, chairman of Women's Union in Russia, and Yekaterina Lakhova, presidential adviser for family, motherhood and childhood issues, introducing their movement. Fedulova says that their 36 candidates represent 21 regions of Russia. The introduction is followed by brief prerecorded election addresses by 17 candidates. Actress Lyudmila Gundareva, Women of Russia's candidate, reads an "Address to the voters by the Women of Russia political association. It says that Russian women united and nominated their candidates for the elections in order to make their contribution to improving life in Russia. Issues of social protection, public health and education are on their agenda.

Election Program Discusses Party Issues

LD0312234593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 3 December broadcasts a 60-minute program entitled "Federal Assembly '94," on the upcoming Russian elections.

The program presenter introduces the Unity and Accord party's election campaign video. Its slogan—in white, red, and blue—is: "Accord among the People, Unity of the Regions, Greatness of the State [Soglasiye Lyudey, Yedinstvo Regionov, Velichiye Derzhavy]."

The video cuts to a panoramic view of the Kremlin. Street interviews on the elections follow, ranging from optimism, pessismism, to political indifference.

Representatives of the Unity and Accord party then discuss the video, seated informally around a small table. Georgiy Satarov, general director of the Russian Socio-political Center, expresses concern at the indifference expressed over the elections and stresses the need to participate in them.

Major General Kim Tsagolov, doctor of philosophy and a professor, says people don't yet know all the parties, hence their reluctance.

Mikhail Vyshinskiy, president of the International Association of Legal Experts "Jurists for the Business World," emphasizes the need to resolve issues by peaceful political means.

Satarov then introduces a document called: "The Party of Russian Unity—Questions and Answers". He says the party supports the Federation Treaty and then gives his view of the Treaty.

Tsagolov says that if you were to ask people what they want they would say: unity and accord. Unity and accord are the key to resolving all the problems facing the country today. The party focuses on the interests of the regions. It favors equality of all nations, self-determination without making in-roads on state power, Tsagolov says.

Vyshinskiy stresses the need to carry out legal reforms, which the party supports, and stresses the role which Sergey Shakhray, Aleksandr Kotenkov, and Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov could play in this.

Speaking of the purchase and sale of land, Vyshinksiy says this is essential for a market economy. He praises the Unity and Accord party's camapaign document, as does Tsagolov. Satarov in conclusion explains why the elections are necessary—"to remind politicians that they depend on the voters, on people, and the more they are reminded of this, the more likely they are to work for the benefit of these people."

The Video then cuts to street scenes with caption of names of those who took part, and the campaign logo of the Unity and Accord party.

The program presenter then introduces the campaign video of Women for Russia. A.V. Fedulova, chair of the Union of Women of Russia, city of Moscow, presents the video. She explains that the party has 36 candidates from 21 regions of Russia for the posts of deputies to the State Duma. They come from all walks of life and are united by the desire to rid society of aggression.

Ye.F. Lakhova, adviser to the president on the affairs of women, the family, and children, city of Moscow, stresses the unified platform of party members. Lakhova says:

"We will uphold the interests of the old and young alike, the rights of men and women, of all our families, and of course of our children, in an honest, principled, and active way. The women of Russia want everyone to live in a democratic, law-governed state, where the will of the people is the foundation of state power."

She then introduces various State Duma candidates of the party and legal experts, who speak briefly about what changes they would make to the law if they were elected.

Other candidates speak of the party platform in the sphere of labor relations. V.V. Skorodumova, director of the Kveta firm, city of Moscow says:

"The Women of Russia bloc differs favorably from all other parties in that it does not propose programs which are probably impossible to implement quickly. But the platform proposed by the Women of Russia will raise us all up onto a worthy path of life."

Another candidate stresses the optimism of the party, another says it will work to ensure that society is informed of what is going on it, another says: "We consider all forms of ownership have the right to exist." Another says: "We must first develop small and medium-size business." A writer stresses the need to develop culture, a service wife says that we uphold the rights of those performing military service, first of all state guarantees for a worthy life for the families of servicemen.

N.G. Gundareva, people's artiste of Russia, city of Moscow, says she joined the party because she is tired of sitting in the kitchen. She hopes that her popularity as an artiste will help her do something to help people.

In conclusion, Gundareva reads out, against the background of a map of Russia, an appeal by the Women of Russia party to the electorate, which says in part:

"We are for a strong Fatherland, in which there is no room for national and territorial conflicts, for a life without fear and violence, for law and order in our Russian home. We are for reform, for a market economy, for a worthy life for all young people, the elderly and disabled, not in the future, but today. We are for qualitative education, which is accessible to all, for health care for all in need, for the preservation of kindergartens and nurseries. We support those sectors of the economy which already today operate for the benefit of man.

"Our movement is called Women of Russia, but it would be more precise to say Women for Russia. Women can and should play their role in the establishment of a flourishing Russia. We have a deep respect for those who will be our rivals in these elections. We have no personal ambitions. We are firmly convinced of the correctness of the path we have chosen. We appeal to men and to women, to young men and women, to vote for Women of Russia candidates in the State Duma elections. The women of Russia are ready to serve Russia, their Russia in these most difficult times, to ensure that their children lead better lives."

The program then returns live to the studio. In the studio are representatives of the Agrarian Party of Russia: Petr Zinovevich Ryabtsev, Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Biryukov, and Aleksandr Grigorevich Nazarchuk.

Biryukov says there are no professional politicians in the party's list of 145 candidates. Nazarchuk says the Agrarian Party does not have the finances to advertise continually on TV. He continues:

"We are firmly convinced, we are sure that it is our own peasantry who should feed the people of Russia. The idea is being planted in us that somebody can feed us.

We really are being thrown scraps of food today. But it's like when you're on a good fishing trip—first you sink the bate, then comes the hook! The only place you will get lard for nothing is in a mouse trap. Let's not fall for the bate! Let's not reach out for free lard, for the outcome will be the same!"

Ryabtsev says:

"There is nothing worse for a Russian than to eat scraps from a stranger's table and to wear somebody's castoffs." He stresses Russia's ability to be self-sufficient as far as food is concerned.

Biryukov stresses the fall in agricultural output as well as the drop in cattle and sheep numbers. He says: "It is not just output which is being reduced. The very foundations of agriculture are being undermined, foundations which will take decades to make up, to restore."

Ryabtsev says that there has been a drastic fall in milk production in Moscow oblast. He asks: "What has happened? Has the peasant got worse? No. It's the result of an ill-conceived agricultural policy by the state which has led to losses in certain sectors."

Nazarchuk asks the people not to believe claims that their party has no agricultural policy; in their time Yeltsin and Shumeyko voted for it but nothing was done to implement it.

Birykov says: "Deputies of our party will avail themselves of every opportunity which legislative work in the State Duma offers them, first by drawing up practical, well-thought out legislative acts." He continues:

"We think that there should be one, basic approach everywhere. In the period of the transition to the market, state influence should be stepped up, state influence on resolving all problems should be tough."

Nazarchuk says his party thinks the state should retain parity of prices of agricultural goods at 1990-1991 prices. He calls for state debts to peasants to be paid. Biryukov says the Agrarian Party calls for state regulation in the period of transition to the market, and for professionals to work in all spheres of the economy.

Nazarchuk says: "We shouldn't be portrayed as a party of conservatives who do not understand that everything should be restructured, including agriculture." "We think that the stage of the transition to the market will be a lengthy one." "At the first stage, we will be obliged to eliminate the consequences of shock therapy and then to rebuild structures, and that cannot be done without state influence."

Biryukov says he is alarmed at the voting apathy of some of the electorate and exhorts them to vote, as the fate of generations to come is at stake.

'Word To Voter' Election Program 30 Nov

LD0412105493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1855 GMT on 30 November carries the "Word to the Voter" program.

Speaking for the bloc "Russia's Future - New Names" bloc, economist Oleg Sokolov says that the bloc's aim is to renew power throughout the country and to reflect the interests of the regions - not just to replace one Moscow elite by another Moscow elite. Physicist Vladimir Zharikhin describes a meeting of the bloc's candidates that he attended last Sunday. He realized how good the candidates were during the meeting. Sokolov, who is standing in Samara Oblast, says that the peasantry are not opposed to reform, but they want freedom. They want to own their land. They are used to being deceived by officials and so, naturally, mistrust them.

Next, following a one-minute advertisement for the bloc, Zharikhin talks about his experiences at rallies and discussions in Smolensk Oblast. He complains of unfair tactics in some areas, e.g. Novosibirsk Oblast, where pressure was brought to bear on the bloc's candidate. Finally, he shows some cartoons about his bloc to prove that it has a sense of humor and can laugh at itself.

There follow advertisements for the Democratic Party of Russia and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord.

Next, in a 10-minute slot Konstantin Zatulin of the "Party of Russian Unity and Accord" says he wants to talk seriously about the economy. He says that taxation is too high. Sometimes businesses are operating at a loss: he quotes the example of a chicken that costs 800 rubles to raise, but has a sale price of 700 rubles. It is better to expand the number of taxpayers, i.e. make many people richer, than to raise taxes. No one will feed us if we don't do it ourselves. There is no hurry to plunge headlong into the world market. The Russian businessman is not ready for that yet. The party approves of Yeltsin's recent decree to protect Russian banks. There is a need to cooperate with the countries of the former Soviet Union.

There follow advertisements for "Russia's Choice", including a clip of Gaydar saying that there are positive trends in the economy, for Civic Union and for the Democratic Party of Russia.

In a further 10-minute slot Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), addresses entrepreneurs. The LDPR supports them, he says. Their products need protection against foreign imports, which will otherwise flood the Russian market. Taxes should stimulate the production of goods. At present, they only stimulate the endless buying and selling of existing goods. There are fewer goods about now, but prices are higher.

Racketeering is on the increase. Officials take bribes. Gangsters use violence. Civil servants must have better

working conditions so that they do not need to take bribes. Businessmen need help to reach the outside market.

There are many Russian technical and service enterprises in Germany, Poland and Hungary, left behind by the withdrawing Russian army. Russian businessmen must take them over. Russian goods can be of good quality and can therefore be competitive.

The banking system is chaotic. Zhirinovskiy says that, two years ago, owing to banking failures, he paid twice for two trucks which were later destroyed in Sukhumi before reaching him. So he received nothing in the end. It must be much the same for many Russian businessmen.

He says that foreigners and southerners have too many privileges in Russia. It's time that Russians again became powerful industrialists. He talks about the possibility of shipping surplus weapons to India, for example, and getting back what is needed in Russia.

The businessman needs security and the support of the law. The highest rate of tax should be 40 percent, and eventually 30 percent he states. Some activities should be exempted from tax altogether, e.g. housing construction and food production. This would lead to a boom in those two fields, which is what is needed at the moment.

A new party program is now available. He gives the address at which it can be obtained.

Zhirinovskiy goes on to say that the party wants to see the state and private sectors able to compete fairly. It will do its best to provide optimum conditions for businessmen, although he is opposed to businessmen who only seek to plunder Russia and take capital abroad. Russian enterprises have $200 billion abroad, he states. The money will return to Russia once stability is ensured. Russia will get back the money it is owed by countries such as Iraq. This money can then be used to support Russian businessmen. Many foreign businessmen plunder the country. Later on they may offer some aid with a hypocritical smile. Too many Russian businessmen take people's money and then run off. The LDPR will protect honest businessmen who seek to make the country rich as well as themselves, of course. He appeals to entrepreneurs for their support on 12 December.

3 Dec Program

LD0412110893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1855 GMT on 3 December carries the "Word to the Voter" program.

The program opens with election advertisements for the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, the Democratic Party of Russia, Russia's Choice, and Civic Union.

Next comes an on-screen caption "Centrist Project for Russia". Vasiliy Lipitskiy, Doctor of Philosophy, deputy director of the Institute of socio-political research of the Russian Academy of Science, picks up a document and says it contains an analysis of the situation in Russia. His institute issues such a document every six months. It now intends to bring out quarterly reviews. Lipitskiy quotes some gloomy statistics from the latest issue on the first six months of 1993. Life in Russia is tough today, he concludes.

A narrator says Vasiliy Lipitskiy is seeking his own path for leading Russia out of the crisis. He is not just a scholar. He is also leader of the Free Russia Party and an organizer of the Civic Union. The narrator says Lipitskiy's colleagues often call him a "centrist." For 18 months now he has been working on "A Centrist Project for Russia," on creating a scientific basis for reforming the country.

This document was discussed at a scientific conference recently. Video shows people sitting around a long table. Lipitskiy speaks of the work of the conference. The narrator says that the conference agreed "that the task of centrism is to be a stabilizing factor in the whole state political system, to ensure its equilibrium and, at the same time, its dynamic work. The Civic Union is up to this role fully."

The narrator says that Civic Union is gaining more and more support. According to polls, most Russians support it, she says.

The narrator notes that Lipitskiy and former Russian Security Minister Vadim Bakatin met recently to discuss the centrist project, and goes on to say that the term "centrist" is "cunningly" used by many political organizations now, even though they are not centrist. "They are turning centrism into a fashion in the political market to allure the voter," she says.

Scholars such as Lipitskiy do not follow the fashion. Rather they are trend-setters, she says, striving to find the best solution for real life.

Lipitskiy says: "Life will continue after 12 December. It's unlikely to improve much after that. Centrist policy will remain topical."

The program ends with an advertisement for "Civic Union."

'Election Marathon' Program 30 Nov

LD0412112593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 30 November carries the "Election Marathon" program.

Introducing the program, the announcer says: "Esteemed viewers, today the Russian Television and Radio company gives air time—for payment—to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia election association."

The program is opened by Alla Salamatina who says that, in keeping with its policy of giving additional air time to political parties—and such time has to be bought, the Russian Television and Radio company has representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) in the studio today. She introduces LDPR chairman Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the party's "economic experts"—Professor Aleksandr Kozyrev, Mikhail Lemeshev, and Mikhail Sviridov.

In a brief introduction, Zhirinovskiy says that today he has invited members of his party who are experts in the field of economics to share their views on the economic issues.

Kozyrev begins by saying that the present conditions for enterprise are impossible. He criticizes at length the incompetence of the government which led the country to its present economic decline. The LDPR believes that the state should invest in manufacturing industry and create a beneficial financial and tax climate to encourage private enterprise, he says.

Next, Lemeshev talks about the dire straits in which the Russian economy is today and says that those responsible for this state of affairs will be made to answer for it some day. He says that no social protection of the population can be achieved without halting the present decline in production and strengthening the agricultural sector. He talks at length about the problem areas in agriculture and the needs to protect the environment.

Sviridov explains why he joined the LDPR. He says he believes not in revolutionary but in evolutionary development and criticizes the present government's policies. "Russia does not have to continue being a testing ground for radical economic reforms. It should be given time to develop at its own pace," he notes.

Zhirinovskiy rounds up by saying that the LDPR specialists are economists, but different from those who are in charge at present.

He then makes an election appeal to the agricultural sector workers, saying that his party will support the peasants and do everything to help them. "Our party supports all types of agricultural enterprise - collective, state farms, private farmers." He says that that domestic agricultural producers should be given priority and foreign imports of food items should be discouraged. "We should not buy agricultural products from abroad, we should encourage our own agricultural enterprises". He adds: "We are destroying our agriculture by buying agricultural products from abroad."

Zhirinovskiy goes on: "As soon as you vote for our party's list on 12 December and we take our place in the new government, we promise to radically change the agricultural policy. We shall be helping you. We shall build good roads to the distant farms and new storage facilities.

"We shall pay you, without fail, in advance. I promise that one of the first decisions of the new Russian government after elections to the State Duma will be to pay you, already in the spring, for your next harvest of 1994. So that you know that it has already been paid for. And by the time when you hand your harvest over in August-September, you will already have money in your accounts."

Speaking about land privatization, Zhirinovskiy says: "What they are also doing today - officials in the cities are taking the land in their own hands and then hire you as farm hands to work for them in these farms. And they are sitting in their offices in the cities and enjoy the profits. This will not do. You are working on this land and you should own it. And the main thing is: We are against the selling of the land. Only the rights to use the land should be sold - for ever, for 40 years, for 90 years, to be inherited, whatever. But the land itself should not be sold. The land is not a commodity." He says that interest-free credits should be given to peasants to encourage land ownership.

Zhirinovskiy concludes by saying: "Everything that we are saying is realistic, it can be implemented. There are facilities for this. What we need is the political decision. What we need is that on 12 December you vote for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia list, all the peasants. And remember: Some are just trying to play up to you - the Peasant Party, the Agrarian Party, and others - all say they are acting in your interests. None are. They tormented you, deceived you during all these 75 years. We are here for the first time. We are a new political team. We shall not deceive or betray you. We need a strong Russian agriculture. We should feed our people ourselves, we do not need this imported rubbish, these foodstuffs that have long passed their sell-by date. We want our own Russian fresh milk, meat, potatoes, vegetables. And we have all this ourselves. Is it not idiotic that when you are producing your own potatoes it is being imported from Poland, paying foreign currency to the Poles! You produce grain - and it is being imported from overseas. You produce excellent apples - and they are being imported from Hungary. And so it is in all spheres. Why they are doing this? In order to strangle you because there is over production of food in Europe.

"We want to develop our agriculture, to protect you. You shall not have any competition from abroad.

"This is our responsible decision, this is our promise which we shall immediately implemented. On 11 January 1994 these questions will be put on the agenda in the State Duma by our party faction. We shall fulfill our promises. I am asking you to vote for our list on 12 December."

Parties Featured on 'Election Marathon' Program

LD0312221993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 3 December carries a

30-minute long election program called "Election Marathon," featuring Russia's Choice and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms. The first 15 minutes is the Russia's Choice segment, which is composed of a video feature including the bloc's election ads and well-known personalities expressing support for Russia's Choice. These include poet Yuriy Saulskiy, comedian Gennadiy Khazanov, folk singer Nadezhda Babkina, and pop singer Andrey Makarevich. The slot also includes excerpts from pre-recorded election interviews by Yegor Gaydar and Boris Fedorov.

The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms segment features Aleksandr Yakovlev talking informally to pop singer Oleg Gazmanov over a cup of tea. The discussion touches upon nationalism and interethnic problems. The slot includes video clips with Gazmanov's songs and the RMDR's election ads. Yakovlev expresses fear that the victory of democrats at the elections is not certain and that the communists might come back.

'Listen, Think, Choose' Election Program 3 Dec

LD0412165793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 3 December carries the 60-minute "Listen, Think, Choose" election program, featuring the "Russia's Future - New Names" bloc and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

In a 30-minute slot, the following figures speak on behalf of the "Russia's Future - New Names" bloc: chairman Oleg Sokolov, Vladimir Mironov, director of the Institute of Politics, Andrey Fedotov, president of the "Yakutskiy Dom" international charity community, and historian Aleksandr Pyzhikov.

The program presenter begins by asking the studio guests not to mention results, if any, of opinion polls in line with the regulation of the Central Electoral Commission - during the last 10 days before the elections no results of opinion polls relating to the forthcoming elections can be published or announced in public.

Pyzhikov begins by saying: "What was our decision based on and why did we come to the conclusion that we should take part in the election campaign, in this election race? We are going to discuss various issues here today - the economy, social and budget spheres. Nevertheless, the main reason was the necessity and the understanding that the renewal of power was the first and foremost task."

Sokolov, an economist, touches upon economic issues. He says: "The state is not fulfilling the obligations it has undertaken. How can one implement the reforms and expect some improvements or new laws being adopted if even the laws which have been adopted are not working? Therefore the most important and, perhaps, item number one in our program is control over the state fulfilling the obligations it has undertaken."

Fedotov says: "The difference between our bloc and all other blocs is our very young average age - 34 years. We call it 'plus 40 minus 10'. We have candidates who are over 40 and there are candidates who are only 30." He stresses that, despite their age, one of their main concerns is social protection of elderly pensioners.

To a question of whose program - Russia's Choice or Civic Union - is more appealing to them, an unidentified participant replies: "The programs of all 13 blocs are very similar. We had a joke: only the author of the program can tell the difference, and even then it is not always the case." He continues: "The two blocs you have mentioned - Russia's Choice and Civic Union - who are their leaders? They are being led by the same people who in the seventies were laying bricks in the building of the nomenclature - Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy and Yegor Timurovich Gaydar." He adds: "These people will do nothing. They have already done everything they could in the seventies. It was then that their ideology and their nomenclature mentality were formed. And nothing can change these people." And he concludes: "Russia's Choice, Communists of Russia - it is all the same. There is nothing to choose between them. One is just as bad as the other. That's why we have formed a completely new list. They are trying to describe us as some new communists and, as if, we were a Komsomol bloc, while as a matter of fact there are only two people on our federal list who have ever had anything to do with Komsomol."

The bloc's representatives answer a few questions from listeners.

In conclusion, one of the bloc's members says: "Speaking about the difference between us and other blocs, the last thing I would like to say in this respect is the following. Above all, we want to be a movement of ordinary citizens. We want to have a permanent direct contact with you, esteemed voters."

In a 30-minute slot, Communist Party chairman Gennadiy Zyuganov and party representatives Valentin Kuptsov and Tatyana Ivanova feature as studio guests.

Ivanova begins by saying this is their last election program on the radio and they would try to answer most typical questions from the voters. To the first question about the position of invalids, Zyuganov says they have drawn up a program to protect invalids and children.

To a question about their attitude to religion, Zyuganov replies that freedom of conscience is a personal matter for each individual.

To an accusation that they are red-brown shirts, Kuptsov says: "The term is being introduced to the public's conscience artificially in order to justify to a certain extent the anticommunist hysteria which is developing quite actively and has already developed in this country. Once again I would like to confirm - and we have already said this many times - as for the accusations that we belong to brown shirts, and we are not giving up the red color, the red banner, we categorically protest against this."

The discussion touches upon army issues, the crime situation, nationalism and Motherland, and the voting procedure.

To a question about early presidential elections, Zyuganov says: "The people of Russia are concerned about this issue. The early presidential elections are necessary. First of all, it was a promise given to the people. The current political situation demands them. And to a considerable degree they will stabilize the situation as a whole in 1994. Therefore we advocate early presidential elections."

To a question why they do not appear often in election broadcasts, Kuptsov says: "We work on a different principle. First of all, we cannot pay as much money as other blocs are paying since we are a party of the working people. If you look at our list, there are workers, peasants, lawyers, economists, teachers and others there. They do not have enormous capital." He adds: "At the same time we have developed the system 'from person to person'. I have already held ten meetings in various regions." Zyuganov adds: "Our financial position is indeed very difficult. We cannot use other sources except state subsidies allocated to all parties and the membership fees."

As for Shumeyko's demand to ban the party from the elections, Zyuganov says: "We regard it unequivocally as a political provocation, no less."

Women's Movement Gives Election Aims

PM0312145793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 2

[Inara Filatova report: "There Is Such a Party..."]

[Text] A party which has never existed in the past now exists! Thus it is all the more strange that the Russian president is almost universally ignoring this phenomenon. And, as a result, it was mainly foreign languages that were to be heard at the press conference at the headquarters of the "Women of Russia" movement, but ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI asked its own question:

"In the recent past women had played a decorative role in the national assembly. Do you agree with that? If so, what guarantee is there that the 'Women of Russia' movement will not go down that well-trodden path?"

The question was answered by Alevtina Vasilyevna Fedulova, chairman of the Russian Women's League and State Duma candidate deputy:

"In the former Supreme Soviet it was not just the women who were a decoration, but the men too. Yes, there was an unofficial quota of only 33 percent women. Naturally, they did not make politicians, but, having had their parliamentary schooling, they worked extensively at local level....

"What were we meant to do—complain to our friends about our life in the kitchen, or cry on our husband's shoulder? We want to make our voices heard not by our neighbors but by the government. This is a conscious choice, and that is the main guarantee."

After the press conference was over we were able to continue the conversation.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] The parliamentary bloc is a stage in the Russian women's movement. What was the situation previously? And what are the prospects for the future?

[Fedulova] There used to be three entirely independent organizations—the "Russian Women's League," the "Association of Women Entrepreneurs," and the "Navy Women's League." Each had its own aims and tasks.

We were united by the opportunity to draw society's attention to problems which people caught up in the fight for power simply do not wish to see. Chief among these is the ageing of society and the declining birth rate. The main reason is a lack of confidence in the future.

Even if we fail to win the election, the attempt will encourage women's organizations at local level to organize. Women will become more active.

National Council Parliament Candidates Meet Press

LD0312180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1708 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamar Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—150 young politicians from 13 electoral blocs are running for seats in Russia's future parliament. They are members of the National Council of Russian Youth Organisations, whose chairman, Vladimir Lepekhin, held a press conference on Friday.

Lepekhin noted that the national council was formed only two years ago, after the youth branch of the former communist party was dissolved and a sort of "vacuum" formed among youth leaders.

The National Council's goal is to coordinate youth policy in Russia and enforce government implementation of the law "On the Bases of Youth Policy", which the National Council helped get adopted. The National Council's corresponding powers are confirmed by a presidential decree and documents of the council of ministers. A committee of youth was formed under the Russian government also with the participation of the National Council.

Lepekhin mentioned that the National Council now unites around 40 Russian youth organisations which exist on the federal level, including youth unions in the Russian Republican Party, the Party of Russian Unity And accord, the Democratic Party of Russia, and the Party of Economic Freedom, to name a few.

The Future of Russia - new names electoral bloc was created by the National Council and now is competing for seats in the Federal Assembly.

Lepekhin himself is running for the State Duma on the Party of Russian Unity and Accord's list. According to the National Council leader, his generation is entering politics well aware of their responsibility for the country's future.

Economic Issues

Finance Minister on Taxes, Budget, Elections

PM0312094193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Finance Minister Boris Fedorov by Irina Savvateyeva; place and date not given: "Boris Fedorov on Money and Power. Our Correspondent Talks to Finance Minister"]

[Text] [Savvateyeva] Boris Grigoryevich, you have alarmed everyone with your tax proposals. The newspapers are discussing them....

[Fedorov] I have published nothing in the newspapers. I have not submitted these issues to the government. I don't know what you're discussing....

[Savvateyeva] Really? Then let me tell you—somebody is proposing a 15-percent tax on the population's income from Bank for Labor Savings and Credit to the Population [Sberbank] deposits. Do you consider this to be normal?

[Fedorov] Of course I do. Interest on bank deposits is taxed in every country in the world. And there is nothing to worry about if the interest rate paid by the Sberbank for your deposits keeps up with the pace of inflation.

[Savvateyeva] But in so doing you are cutting down the middle class. The rich have already spirited all their money abroad long ago.

[Fedorov] Is that so? You're obviously well informed. Maybe things are clearer to you.

[Savvateyeva] How well informed are you? What is clear to you?

[Fedorov] It is clear to me that we have quite a lot of rich people over here too. And they haven't spirited anything away. They are building houses and dachas, buying cars.... You can go into any restaurant and see rich people all over the place. In any case, the middle class is defined not by its level of savings but by its level of consumption. This is always the way things happen: People dream up some idea and—bingo! Suddenly the whole country is discussing it. But nobody discusses what ought to be discussed. Every day you are being defrauded by inflation, you are simply being robbed! But that doesn't bother you. Of course, it is impossible to understand our people's logic. Our proposals are....

[Savvateyeva] So there have been some proposals, then?

[Fedorov] There were working proposals from the Finance Ministry which have still not been officially adopted. And they are to increase the amount of annual income on which lower-rate tax is payable [malooblagayemyy minimum] from 1 million to 2 million [currency unspecified]. To ensure that people have to pay less tax.

[Savvateyeva] What on earth are you saying?! I had naively thought that if tax would be payable on both material assistance and bank deposit income that we would have to pay more taxes.

[Fedorov] What do you want? Why should some income not be taxable? You receive your salary, royalties, interest from bank deposits, and all this has to be added up, you submit a return to the tax inspector, and you pay tax on all your income.

[Savvateyeva] Oh sure. The superrich haven't exactly inundated you with returns—only 28,000 instead of the 3 million expected in Moscow—and you've decided to step up the financial pressure on those receiving [state] benefits....

[Fedorov] We have indeed failed to collect very many returns. But the tax inspectorate was only set up two years ago, after all. Things have already been better this year than they were last year. The tax police will now be carrying out searches. Currently there is an amnesty. But it all starts in December.... And they will hit the ground running! They are already champing at the bit. After all, following the amnesty, the tax police will have far more incentive to collect taxes—fines will have been tripled, and they will receive a percentage of every fine....

[Savvateyeva] What about the budget, Boris Grigoryevich? Has the government accepted the 10-percent annual deficit on which you were insisting, or was it a case of sectoral lobbyists' refusing any spending cuts, with the result that the printing presses will be working with renewed force?

[Fedorov] The figure of 10 percent as the outer limit of the budget deficit seems to have been accepted, but, at the same time, a far larger amount of spending has been laid down than would allow us to hit that 10-percent deficit target. It's a kind of trick. A strange one, to my mind....

[Savvateyeva] But that's not the way things work. Either the deficit will grow or this spending won't happen.

[Fedorov] I think as a result we will cut spending that is not financed [bez istochnikov].

[Savvateyeva] And do you think that Chernomyrdin will stick to this 10 percent? After all, one-fifth of all spending will have to be cut. That is a very difficult decision.

[Fedorov] Chernomyrdin chaired the government session at which the statement on economic policy with

these very guidelines was discussed. And he himself proposed adopting this statement.

[Savvateyeva] Are you really convinced that you and Mr. Chernomyrdin both have the same aim? How then would you assess the interest-free credits and loans to the countryside which Viktor Stepanovich has organized?

[Fedorov] Forgive me, but where and when has Chernomyrdin ever made any official statements on this subject? Nothing has been said directly. Were there some promises to provide something? Well that "something" has been provided. But nothing over and above the sums laid down by the Credit Commission. I can stake my reputation (financiers love doing this—Ed.) on the fact that there have been no changes on agriculture—we issue loans on the basis of our inflow of funds.

[Savvateyeva] Good Lord, Boris Grigoryevich, you don't need to stake anything. Better if you just told us how you explain the prime minister's recent directive stripping the Credit Commission—which you head—of the right to issue loans "without the examination and approval of the chairman of the Council of Ministers"? Will everything now be decided by Chernomyrdin?

[Fedorov] He won't be deciding anything. This document was coordinated with us. And it was needed in order to protect the Finance Ministry from pressure. Mr. Gerashchenko, for instance, was in the habit of opposing our decisions. In other words, the mechanism now will be that we make the decisions and Chernomyrdin rubber-stamps them.

[Savvateyeva] What if you have differences of opinion?

[Fedorov] If we have any serious differences I will resign.

[Savvateyeva] Fair enough. It's all sweetness and light with you and Chernomyrdin. What about your relationship with his deputy—Mr. Shokhin—from whom you recently took over the right to make decisions on foreign borrowings?

[Fedorov] You know, it is not a matter of Fedorov, Shokhin, or anyone else. What there is is just the experience of 150 countries which clearly demonstrates which functions the Finance Ministry should have. Why did Shokhin suddenly find himself handling certain Finance Ministry functions? Because, not to make any bones about it, Barchuk simply wasn't taking care of it....

[Savvateyeva] But Shokhin is in charge of....

[Fedorov] Oh, he's in charge! But what of? Look—I'm finance minister. I head up a ministry. What department does Shokhin head? If you have a finance minister, it means that he is the person to deal with financial matters. Otherwise he'd be a cashier rather than a minister. And I will not be a cashier.

[Savvateyeva] Boris Grigoryevich, Russia's creditors have of late been increasingly vigorous in expressing their dissatisfaction with the fact that we are not repaying our debts. The logic of their argument is that our exports exceed our imports but we are still not paying....

[Fedorov] Well, exports exceed imports: So what? We mainly have private exports and private imports in our country. Before, when only the state was involved in trade, export earnings went straight to the treasury. But enterprises keep them nowadays. People say that $15 billion is held abroad. So what? Are those dollars state money? Even if we assume that we repatriated them from the West, what would we do with them—put them in the treasury? It's not our money. And there's no point in hankering after what belongs to someone else. There is no direct link between export and import volumes and the foreign debt. The question of the repayment of state debt depends above all on the state of the budget—it is purely a budgetary item. We will have to repay more than 10 billion [currency unspecified] in 1994. Clearly we will be unable to do so, however hard we try.

[Savvateyeva] Maybe we are still not trying hard enough. Mr. Zhirinovskiy has said that he knows how to make all Russia's debtors repay what they owe....

[Fedorov] Wasn't he any more specific? That is a shame.... We are working on this issue too. As much as we are capable, of course. But to be serious, this is a very delicate matter. For instance, we are owed a lot by Libya. But the world community has applied sanctions against it. So we face a choice—either we stand with all progressive mankind and combat terrorism, or we veto the sanctions and demand repayment.

[Savvateyeva] Just how much has actually been repaid?

[Fedorov] Probably around 100 million [currency unspecified] over the past few months.

[Savvateyeva] Boris Grigoryevich, do you remember our conversation in London? You were not yet finance minister but were working at the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and you said that no obstacles should be put in the way of foreign banks wanting to come to Russia; you said we needed competition. But recently you have been actively in favor of limiting the activity of foreign banks on Russian territory. Presumably you had a hand in preparing the presidential edict "On the Activities of Foreign Banks".... What is this—an election campaign?

[Fedorov] What is it about the edict that you dislike? It lays down a list of operations on which there will be restrictions for foreign banks for a period—until 1 January 1996. The edict essentially says that, if you are not already doing something, then please don't start doing it. What's the big deal? It does not say "go away." It does not take anything away from them. To my mind, it is very civil.

Yes, I did indeed say previously that we need competition. And I say today: Let them come. The very fact that Credit Lyonnais has been preparing for operations in the

Russian market for two years has forced our own bankers to work twice as fast in investing more in production, in opening new branches.... Essentially the foreigners have not arrived yet, but we are already reaping the benefit. At the same time, I do not understand why before the elections Mr. Gerashchenko has suddenly started urging his staff to issue licenses as quickly as possible. Before we knew where we were, 12 foreign banks had already obtained licenses! Do you know why he did this?

[Savvateyeva] Do you think that the Central Bank chairman still wields a very great deal of influence on the economic and political situation in the country?

[Fedorov] I think he is a very bad influence. Gerashchenko is one of the craftiest people you could meet. He does nothing openly. But he is a constant opponent on the quiet. Whatever he says is negative. He is against the government, against financial stabilization.... But when he is forced to accept something he has opposed, he instantly takes all the credit himself. And it turns out that he was the one who observed credit ceilings, he was the one who fought the spread of the dollar economy, he was the one who strengthened the ruble. No, he is just a talented man! All his actions are under cover. When I deal with Gerashchenko I am not sure of anything: I am not sure about loans, I am not sure of many things....

[Savvateyeva] OK, let's leave palace intrigues to one side. What is happening to the ruble exchange rate?

[Fedorov] What is happening to it?

[Savvateyeva] It is falling, and quite markedly.

[Fedorov] Markedly? To my mind, it is normal. As long as we have inflation the rate will fall. Admittedly, there have recently been some not entirely correct operations on the part of the Central Bank. We gave them a certain sum to sell, and they did not sell it. I phoned them, and one person was on leave, another was on secondment.... What's more, there have been these rumors—who knows where they come from—that "the Finance Ministry is warning of the threat of hyperinflation...."

[Savvateyeva] Isn't it?

[Fedorov] Of course not! We have done so in the past. But that was a long time ago. The situation is normal now. So far nothing nasty has happened, and I do not think it will. At least not before the end of the year—that is absolutely ruled out. More than enough foreign currency inflows to the market are expected.

[Savvateyeva] Are you prepared to take another bet on that?

[Fedorov] When I am going to resign I will make a bet that.... No! First I will bet everyone that the rate will reach 2,000, and the next day I will announce that I am leaving for a business career!

[Savvateyeva] Do you value yourself highly?

[Fedorov] Why not? I think it helps to intimidate people. Because those who need to know realize that as long as I am here we will stick to our budget. And we will keep Gerashchenko from indulging in all kinds of mutual offset arrangements and other operations....

[Savvateyeva] And do you plan to stay here long?

[Fedorov] I don't know, I am not attached to this job. Why did I take it on? Because last December the situation was critical. It was necessary to find someone who in Gaydar's absence would strive to prevent the reforms from coming to an end. I believe I have done my job. But then—you tell me—why should I earn less than any general?

[Savvateyeva] How much do you earn?

[Fedorov] Well, apparently around 300,000....

[Savvateyeva] Apparently?

[Fedorov] I base that on Shakhray's revelations. He announced in some newspaper that he gets 300,000. I probably get about the same.

[Savvateyeva] Since we are talking about pay, we cannot fail to mention inflation. Explain this phenomenon to me: In October the state had no extra expenditure, no more loans were issued than had been planned, but prices grew by more than 20 percent....

[Fedorov] What is unusual about that? A surge of inflation happens two or three months after an injection of surplus money into the economy. Since July and August were mostly a mess (the exchange of money, loans being generously issued), we found ourselves facing a considerable surge in prices in October. I think that the numbers for November will be pretty good—around 15-18 percent. We ought to be on the threshold of financial stabilization. Incidentally, we were close to it in June. But then Messrs. Gerashchenko and Zaveryukha and other gentlemen spoiled everything.

[Savvateyeva] And what might spoil financial stabilization now?

[Fedorov] The market has already been sufficiently liberalized so as not to need subsidies. Our oil prices are virtually deregulated. Coal prices have been deregulated. As have grain and bread prices. Gas prices have not been yet. But a price indexing system has now been introduced for them—we will now no longer have to wait three months for prices to increase only to see them leap sharply. Essentially a market environment has already more or less taken shape. And we will now be able to control the situation with monetary, credit, and financial means of regulation.

[Savvateyeva] What about the so-called "ruble zone"? Our readers are very worried about this subject.

[Fedorov] "So-called" hits the nail on the head.... What exactly worries your readers?

[Savvateyeva] Well, for instance, people have been calling from Belarus to ask whether any cash will be supplied to them.

[Fedorov] Why should we deliver cash anywhere? Does the U.S. Government deliver cash to Mexico? But if people in Belarus want to buy cash rubles they can be our guest. Kazakhstan has spent $30 million on buying them from us. Admittedly, some politicians today love talking about a "new type of ruble zone." I do not understand what this means. We know from world history of relationships whereby one state (usually the dominant state) issued its currency to other states—colonies or semicolonies. This applied, for instance, to the relationship between France and the states of equatorial Africa, or between Britain and the states of the former [as published] Commonwealth. But, after all, our neighbors want to be sovereign and absolutely independent! To my mind, it would be better to raise the issue of their joining the Russian Federation if they want a single..."zone" that much.

Incidentally, there is another option—that of currency integration along the lines of the European economy. But this kind of integration has to be carefully prepared for—unified legislation, unified economic regulation, and so on and so forth.... I am personally ready to hold talks on this kind of integration with Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakhstan....

[Savvateyeva] With which CIS state do you think Russia can find common ground on this issue the most quickly?

[Fedorov] With Belarus. Above all with Belarus. They haven't been hysterical, they haven't been demanding Russian rubles. They introduced their own "Belarusian rubles" [zaychiki] and quietly bought rubles from us for commercial transactions.

[Savvateyeva] How much time would the former Union republics need for currency integration?

[Fedorov] It will take years. But personally I am wholly in favor of it.

[Savvateyeva] Boris Grigoryevich, you are, of course, the complete financier.... But let's talk a little about politics. After all, you are running for the Duma. Why is that, incidentally?

[Fedorov] To support the bloc of democratic forces.

[Savvateyeva] And what does your election campaign consist of?

[Fedorov] My election campaign? It consists of...working to implement the bloc's program principles!

[Savvateyeva] Strong words! And what does that work consist of?

[Fedorov] I am not giving anyone any money.

[Savvateyeva] All right. What, in your view, will the new parliament be like?

[Fedorov] I think it will be far better than the previous one. Some 60-65 percent of it will be made up of democratic forces. Even then, they are only being elected for two years. They will spend the first year adapting to the job, and the second year thinking about getting reelected. So, you see, it won't be too bad.

[Savvateyeva] How do you view the president's refusal to run for election again himself?

[Fedorov] I believe there is absolutely no need for another presidential election. The election promises would start again.... Let him serve out his term. And by the time it ends, you'll see—there will be new political leaders in the picture.

[Savvateyeva] Do you aim to be one of them?

[Fedorov] No. Why me?

[Savvateyeva] Is it something you can do without?

[Fedorov] We can do without it for the time being.

[Savvateyeva] For the time being?

[Fedorov] We can see later. To my mind it is simply shameful to run for president without having any real achievements behind you. At any rate, I wouldn't. If I did, people would ask: "What did you ever do for the country? Show us what you can do." For some reason people in our country think that if they ever got into a position of power they would get things moving. But if you have never achieved anything previously there is little chance that you will achieve anything once you get there. So, however hard it may be, everyone should work at their own job.

Makes 1994 Predictions

MK0412124093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 88, 4 Dec 93 (Signed to press 3 Dec) p 1

[Unattributed report: "Boris Fedorov: 1994 Will Be 'Just as Difficult'"]

[Text] The slump in production will reach around 12 percent in 1993, whereas people's incomes have increased by 10 percent, Boris Fedorov said, adding that he personally was dissatisfied with how the year has passed: "Everything could have been done three times as fast." In the minister's view, if inflation does not subside in the first half of 1994, Russia may enter "such a crisis that there is no telling how it will get out of it," and 1994 will be "just as difficult," all the more so because enterprises's mutual nonpayments have amounted to around 11 trillion rubles, according to the Finance Ministry's latest data.

Government Adopts Fourth Quarter Budget

LD0412161593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1504 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Valentin Sergeyev, head of the press service of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, said today that the Russian government has adopted the budget for the fourth quarter of 1993. According to him, "the work has demanded untraditional approaches to coordinate revenue and expediture." The main criterion is to maintain the course toward financial stabilization and to restrict the inflationary processes. It became possible to bring down the rate of inflation in November to 15 percent, the lowest rate this year.

Together with the measures already undertaken to pay the debts to the miners and to the extraction industries, additional money will be found to pay the wages of the staff of the budget financed spheres that were not paid in time, including to servicemen and to the staff of the law enforcement bodies. Besides all this the necessary funds will be also allocated to the regions of the Far North.

Chubays Views Privatization Process

LD0412132393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0815 GMT on 4 December carries the live 45-minute "How Shall We Live Now?" discussion program.

This edition is on the theme of privatization, with studio guests Anatoliy Chubays, Russian deputy prime minister, and Vladimir Yelagin, head of administration in Orenburg Oblast.

In the course of the discussion Chubays answers questions about the privatization process. On the significance of the present stage of privatization he says:

"You will recall that a year ago no one in general really believed that anything would come of it, that people would receive their vouchers and that after receiving their vouchers they would want to exchange them for shares. We were in general being told that no one would understand what shares are and what dividends are.

"But regardless of this everything is proceeding in an orderly way and people have sorted the whole thing out and understood it absolutely correctly and normally. Now, however, we have reached a fresh stage. The essence of this new stage is that the privatization of an enterprise and the fact that the enterprise has been renamed will not in themselves ensure that an enterprise will double its profits and cut its costs by two-thirds. It is a matter now first and foremost for the management of the enterprise and the council of shareholders, which the shareholders, you yourselves, will elect, to get down to real restructuring within the enterprise itself.

"This applies incidentally to Gazprom and to the thousands of machine-building enterprises which have been privatized. I know of examples where at the present time major enterprises are going with a fine comb through literally every product and every type of output from the viewpoint of the expenditure on their manufacture and from the viewpoint of potential future sales. Decisions are being reached on hiring agents to handle the sales of each of the products, who will receive in payment a percentage of their sales.

"So the thing is that the present stage of privatization is, I repeat yet again, a foundation and basis. One must not think that merely as a result of it everything will suddenly begin quickly to prosper and develop. It is the launching pad for beginning work on the internal restructuring of enterprises and the internal restructuring of production. It is this that will yield the profits, income and dividends, on which you can seriously count."

Chubays points out that the market value of privatization vouchers is rising. He states: "Three months ago and particularly following the October events the situation changed radically. During the month of November the market value of privatization vouchers rose by about 60 per cent. Their value on the exchanges now stands at between 27,000 and 28,000 rubles throughout Russia."

Asked about the problem of privatizing the military-industrial complex, Chubays states: "This is a matter that is fully resolvable. The solution is as follows. Three months ago a presidential decree was issued, listing the enterprises of the military-industrial complex where a decision could be taken regarding privatization. As a result of this list there has been three months of work, which finished last week, and 80 percent of the enterprises listed in the presidential decree have been given permission to privatize. I think that within the next few days a final decision will be taken and you will be able to see the outcome of that decision."

Chubays then specifies the position regarding the fuel and energy complex: "As for the fuel and energy complex we have now reached the stage of open voucher auctions in respect of oil, gas and other such enterprises. This occurred during November."

Finally, the period of validity of the privatization vouchers has been extended. Chubays says: "One thing needs to be added here, which has not been mentioned. We have extended the period of validity of privatization vouchers. We have extended their validity until 30 June 1994. This means that there are still six and a half months in which to take a final decision on their use."

Current Economic Situation Surveyed

PM0312141593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Article by Otto Latsis: "Why Readers Disbelieve Good News"]

[Excerpts] Reader Ivanov from the city of Rybinsk has sent a letter to the editorial office. Here is an excerpt from it.

"IZVESTIYA No. 203 carries an article entitled 'Russia Intends To Regain Its Status as Grain Exporter.' It is not indicated when or in which year this might happen—for example, in 2010, 2050, and so forth. So as to deceive the people, no doubt. But we are not such suckers any more. How can it be that, the whole time under Brezhnev and his successors we imported 30 million tonnes of grain from abroad every year, and suddenly there will be enough bread for the population of Russia, and moreover, enough left over to export abroad? And pigs may fly. A likely story. Why is it that, under Brezhnev, granulated sugar cost 90 kopeks, buckwheat 65 kopeks, and sausage 2.20 rubles [R] a kilogram, and now the price of everything has gone up 100-500 times over and more? None of us can wait for Yeltsin, Gaydar, Chernomyrdin and their associates to be fired. Everyone remembers Brezhnev kindly and curses Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and the others." [passage omitted]

In replying to reader Ivanov from Rybinsk, I will use the official information of the Russian State Committee for Statistics.

First, on the export and import of grain. Toward the end of the Brezhnev era we were importing not 30 million but up to 45 million tonnes a year. Not for free: We were paying with oil, gas, and gold which were exported, or with dollars which were borrowed. By the way, today we are suffering because formerly we squandered everything on food and ran up debts besides. Even last year, when we were living on the prereform harvest and had only just begun to change the prereform structure of consumption, grain imports were measured in tens of millions of tonnes. However, in the first 10 months of 1993 they amounted only to 9.8 million tonnes, which is almost three times less than the same period last year. Moreover, when it came to storing away the grain of the new harvest, it turned out that last year's grain had not been completely used up.

This is attributable not only to the good harvest last year, but also to the reduction in the nonrational consumption of grain. The approximation of prices to the market level has convinced people better than any propaganda that bread is not produced for free. In our country the best wheat was fed to livestock—that was a specific "achievement" of the planned economy, like the stale loaves of bread on the rubbish heaps. Today even city dwellers known the price of bread, and peasants rely not on imported grain but on their own green feed. And after this year's harvest was gathered, even though it turned out to be smaller than expected, surpluses of rye were found in the country, which cannot be sold on the Russian market. Russia will resume the export of grain not in 2050 but in 1993, although we will continue to import relarively small quantities of grain varieties of which we still produce too little, primarily soya feeds.

Structural changes such as those described above occur quietly and unnoticed, but they do influence economic and social life more powerfully than many sensational events. In recent months these changes have been increasing in number. Here is another—also from the sphere of agriculture. In the first 10 months of 1993 the natural consumption of meat and meat products grew in comparison with the corresponding period of last year by 8 percent, that of milk and dairy produce—by 9 percent, eggs—by 5 percent, sugar and confectionery—by 28 percent, vegetables and melons—by 3 percent, fruits and berries—by 23 percent, bread and flour products—by 9 percent, potatoes—by 9 percent, and vegetable oil and other fats—by 15 percent. True, these indicators, though showing an increase on 1992, remain less than the 1991 levels for meat, milk, fish, vegetables, and fruit. And even the 1991 levels for a number of items of consumption were lower than the maximum precrisis indicators. In other words, the slump in food consumption has been halted, an upturn in consumption is under way for all forms of produce except fish, but the precrisis level has not yet been restored. [passage omitted]

The structure of prices has changed: Foodstuffs have increased in price on average more sharply than industrial goods. The index of bread prices, for example, has grown by a factor of 780-820. On the other hand, the liberalization of tariffs for municipal services is not yet complete. Apartment rents have grown by a factor of 25 in the state housing stock. Whereas even before they did not cover the cost of maintaining the housing stock, now they have shrunk almost tenfold (as a proportion of the average wage). Clearly, a significant increase is unavoidable. The prices of electricity (average growth by a factor of 177), gas (by a factor of 82), heating (by a factor of 101), and water (by a factor of 64) lag behind not only the general prices index, but also the growth of pay and pensions. Given the huge financial difficulties faced by the energy sectors and in the face of the threat of an energy crisis, it is difficult to imagine these tariffs being maintained at the current level.

The restructuring of the structure of consumer prices and of consumption itself is far from complete. And the restructuring of the structure of industrial production is only just gathering pace (in agriculture its progress is more noticeable). Its deepening will probably be coupled with the painful processes of winding down inefficient production units. The social consequences can only be softened by the strictest economies. But a television news report has just appeared: First Vice Premier O. Soskovets, currently the acting head of government, announced that to assign 17 percent of the military budget to arms production is insufficient. He is hardly proposing to increase this proportion at the expense of other parts of the defense budget: expenditure on the maintenance of army personnel or scientific research and development. Such cuts would hardly accord with the interests of defense or the solution of servicemen's social problems. So does he propose to increase military expenditure as a whole? Then he should clearly state at

the expense of what economic and social needs he proposes to cram the storehouses with weapons and munitions in peacetime. And explain in the name of what this will be done.

The structural restructuring of production is always painful, but without it there is no way out of the crisis; without it there is no road to the revival of Russia. It is that much more disappointing to see attempts to reverse what has been achieved, especially in such a difficult field as the conversion of the defense industry. The efforts of the military-industrial lobby cannot help but raise the question: Are readers, who are in no hurry to believe even the most obvious good news, really so wrong after all?

Economic Conference Criticizes Government Reforms

LD0212192293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Participants of a public Economic Conference, now underway in Moscow, criticized the government's market reforms Thursday. They said that the grave economic crisis in the country was caused by inconsistency in market reforms, incompetence of the reformers and ignorance of the nature of inflation.

Leonid Abalkin, Director of the Economy Institute under the Russian Academy of Sciences, said that the production fell by 40 percent and investments 60 percent from what they were when the reforms were launched. In his words, living standards fell to 40 percent of what they used to be while 2.5 Mn people had incomes below the official subsistence level.

He called for development of specific lines in "a reasonable and professional economic policy" and a legislation on a new, rent, taxation system.

Nikolay Petrakov, Director of the Market Research Institute, emphasized that the government-proposed seven percent increase of the taxation rate would result in reduced incomes and contribute to creating a crime-infested atmosphere in the economy.

Rising Ruble Hurts Country's Exporters

MK0312121293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 87, 3 Dec 93 (Signed to press 2 Dec) p 1

[Rustam Narzikulov report under the "Currency" rubric: "Ruble Has Become Too Expensive for Exporters. They Urge That a Fixed Exchange Rate of 2,000:1 Be Established"]

[Text] In less than a month, by 1 December the steady growth in the dollar's exchange rate has reached 1,235 rubles. Yesterday, at the routine trading session of the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange, which resulted in the heaviest trading volume of $157.36 million (the former record—$145.08 million—was set 21 September), the dollar slipped to 1,230 rubles.

A steep rise in demand for hard currency (by 80 percent) was offset by an even steeper increase in the supply of dollars (by 114 percent), which in the end reached a total of $160.4 million. Many experts were quick to attribute the twofold growth in trading volumes to steps taken by the Russian Central Bank, which, in their view, decided to restrain the rise in the dollar's exchange rate by yet another hard-currency intervention. According to another theory, the exchange rate reached a point where banks thought it advisable to start jettisoning their considerably swollen dollars.

Spokesmen for the Russian Central Bank flatly denied the inference about any currency interventions, saying that the bank, true to its obligations, does not resort to the practice of artificially propping up the ruble. A high-ranking Central Bank official said in a conversation with your SEGODNYA correspondent that he saw the events of 2 December at least as a trend toward stabilization of the current exchange rate figures, if not a beginning of a growth in the ruble's exchange rate.

If the Central Bank's forecast is confirmed, we should expect increasing disgruntlement of many participants in foreign economic activity with what they see as an "unfairly" high ruble exchange rate. Curiously, the complaints made currently by businessmen with regard to the inanimate legal tender, whose value "does not square" with their business plans, echo their litanies of six months ago regarding "the cheap ruble," albeit the other way around.

At that time, enterprise directors complained that the gap between the dollar's exchange rate against the ruble and the purchasing power parity of the two currencies allowed "any American student to buy any Russian plant with his stipend." Now those same enterprise directors accuse the government and the Russian Central Bank of setting the ruble's exchange rate "artificially" high and making Russian exporters' life more difficult.

The bank, as six months ago, has been receiving requests that "a genuine," that is, fixed, exchange rate be established at the level of 2,000 rubles for one dollar.

Those complaining include not only Russian businessmen, but also nonresident firms that operate on the Russian market. Previously they were able to make use of a very cheap labor force and raw materials whose price in rubles was lagging considerably behind its dollar equivalent. Now they have lost these advantages and also the possibility to play on exchange rate differences. A German company, engaged in housing construction for Russian troops being withdrawn from Germany, complained about the Central Bank, which, in its view, does not let the ruble plunge to the "fair" level of 3,000 rubles for one dollar.

What amounts to a real problem for Russian enterprises is not exchange rate fluctuations, but their technological uncompetitiveness on world markets, which was revealed by the growth in the ruble's purchasing power. It would be stupid to ask for "fair" exchange rate ratios

at a time when the sole criterion of fairness is provided by the market. Which is actually what the latter confirmed once again on 2 December by jettisoning en masse the dollars that had been rising for a month.

Regional Affairs

N. Caucasus Democratic Forces on Yeltsin Visit

LD0512124293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0820 GMT 5 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 5 Dec—"The upcoming working visit by Boris Yeltsin to the North Caucasus demonstrates the desire by the president and Russian Government to get involved more actively in resolving difficult problems in the south of the Russian Federation," Shmidt Dzoblayev, general secretary of the Assembly of Democratic Forces of North Caucasus, has told an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

In his opinion, "the position of the Russian leadership to resolve interethnic conflicts by political means only is worth attention." In this connection, Dzoblayev stressed that "the Assembly of Democratic Forces of North Caucasus supports the activity of the Russian leadership, inter alia its involvement in resolving the conflicts between the region's leaders."

Let us remind you that the Assembly of Democratic Forces, which is taking part in the peace-making activity in North Caucasus, has drawn up a package of proposals on the settlement of the internal political situation there. Speaking about the mood among the region's inhabitants, Shmidt Dzoblayev noted that "all the peoples of North Caucasus want to live in peace and accord and therefore, they are ready to support the Russian Federation draft new constitution at the referendum since, otherwise, it will lead to an aggravation of confrontation in society, chaos, and lawlessness in the state."

Meanwhile, according to military sources, over the last 24 hours the operational situation in the state of emergency zone on the territory of North Ossetia has not essentially changed. The Russian peace-making forces, in interaction with the local law-enforcement bodies, have the situation fully under control. No conflicts on interethnic grounds have been registered.

Yeltsin Arrives in Vladikavkaz To Review Conflict

LD0612131593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1223 GMT 6 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 6—Upon his arrival in Vladikavkaz Monday morning, Russian President Boris Yeltsin announced that he thinks it possible to find the answers to the key problems of the Osset-Ingush conflict during his working visit to the northern Caucasus. Responding to journalists' questions, the president said he did not "bring any recipes for resolving the conflict between Ossetia and Ingushetia. I hope to find them here".

As soon as Yeltsin arrived he closeted himself in a meeting with with the leadership of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Then the president took a helicopter ride to the state of emergency zone, where he met with Ossetian and Ingush members of conciliatory commissions in the village of Chermen.

Yeltsin was preceded by representatives from the most important Russian ministries and departments, who arrived on Sunday. Among them are the secretary of the Security Council Oleg Lobov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Federation Committee Sergey Shakhrai, Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, Security Minister Nikolay Golushko, chief of interior troops under the Interior Ministry Anatoliy Kulikov and chairman of the State Committee for Emergencies Sergey Shoygu.

The most difficult questions which the president will have to tackle to solve the Osset-Ingush conflict are the refugee problem, disarmament of illegal military groups, and the economic renewal of Ossetia and Ingushetia.

There are about 46 thousand ethnic Ingushes in Ingushetia who fled their homes in North Ossetia. In its turn, North Ossetia is home to approximately 43 thousand refugees from Georgia, south Ossetia, Chechnya, Ingushetia, and other parts of the former Soviet Union. It is no surprise that these refugees, who have no place to live, means to support themselves or chances to work, have no idea what their future fate will be and are not very open to calls for patience and reasonableness.

The problem of illegal armed groups and legalized local para- military formations, whose numbers are much higher than elsewhere in Russia, is also very acute.

Other important questions which Yeltsin's trip will focus on concern hostages and missing people, as well as financing a housing program and humanitarian aid for the wounded.

"Boris Yeltsin's working trip to the northern Caucasus bears witness to the president's and the government's efforts to implement a more active approach to the resolution of complicated problems all over the south of the Russian Federation", ITAR-TASS was told by Shmidt Dzoblayev, the secretary general of the North Ossetian Assembly of Democratic Forces.

Dzoblayev thinks, "the Russian leadership's commitment to strictly diplomatic solutions of inter-regional conflicts is worthy of attention". In connection with this, he announced, "the northern Caucasian assembly of democratic forces supports the Russian leadership's activities, including their efforts to involve local leaders in problem-solving measures".

The Chechnya government of national trust, headed by Yaragiy Mamodayev, called on Boris Yeltsin to use only political means to solve problems in the northern Caucasian region.

In a circular given to ITAR-TASS, the government of national trust said it "welcomes the Russian president's visit to the northern Caucasus, and sees in that visit a sincere desire to use peaceful means to resolve the complicated knot of northern Caucasian problems, including difficulties in relations between Russia and Chechnya".

"We are sure", it says in the circular, "that positive changes in relations between Russia and Chechnya could provide a significant boost to the normal resolution of many conflicts in the whole Caucasian region. We are ready for a dialogue with Moscow on any level".

There was a meeting on Sunday in Nazran between the leaders of the Ingush Ministries of Defence, Security and Internal Affairs. They discussed security arrangements for President Yeltsin's visit to the state of emergency zone. The Ingusetian deputy internal minister told ITAR-TASS that "the personal staff of the law enforcement bodies has been transferred to an intensified work regime".

On Tuesday December 7, the Russian president is scheduled to meet with leaders of the north Caucasian republics, territories and regions.

Kozyrev in Murmansk: Country Unready for Broad Democracy

LD0512194293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 5 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stated that Russia was not ready for broad democracy.

In Murmansk, Kozyrev stated that he would not recommend anyone to criticize the draft constitution in general and that "the Communists, the Democratic Party of Russia and all those who dream of becoming State Duma members and reject the new constitution, should be denied the right to take part in the elections as candidates".

He also noted that "if most of the voters do not cast their votes for the new constitution, political confrontation will continue and the State Duma and Federation Council would be outside the law."

On Monday, Kozyrev is expected to meet with the workers of the Murmansk Steamship Line, visit hospitals and meet with scientists and intellectuals.

Shakhray Discusses Conversion Problems in Kaluga

LD0312200093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, who also leads the Party of Russian Unity and Concord, arrived in Kaluga on Friday to take part in a conference discussing the revival and development of small and medium-size Russian towns. Local self-management is high on the agenda of the forum, the second of its kind so far, involving mayors from some 400 Russian cities.

Shakhray is also expected to visit local industrial facilities and defense-related plants, including the Voskhod and Polikeramika companies.

The PRUC leader met representatives of Central Russia's military-industrial complex to discuss the problems of conversion of defense- related plants and prospects for arms exports. Shakhray called for government support to the sector, saying defense industry workers must not be allowed to suffer from the effects of economic reforms.

He also met the airmen of a helicopter regiment which has been redeployed from Germany to Russia.

Shakhray said his party considered the armed forces among its priority problems. And he added that all the resources freed after troop cuts must be channelled into social security benefits and payments both to active and retired servicemen.

Shakhray claimed his party had a solid concept of social rehabilitation of servicemen. He said that one of the first bills the PRUC would introduce in the new parliament would be legislation on the status of and social security benefits for servicemen and their dependents as well as veterans of all wars. The PRUC favors tax-exemption for army officers.

Shakhray Visits Samara, Not To Ally With Russia's Choice

LD0412152793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Vice-Premier, Leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord, Sergey Shakhray is persuaded that there will be no political coalitions in the future parliament. Speaking at a meeting with intelligentsia and students in Samara on Saturday he made it clear that the PRUC had no intention to bloc with the Russia's Choice after the elections.

He said that the new constitution's draft would fail to receive the required number of votes in most of the republics. He also believes that not all the republics will elect deputies to the Federation Council.

Shakhray criticized a number of the new constitution's provisions. However, he spoke in favor of the document

since, according to him, "non-adoption of the Fundamental Law at the referendum might lead to a civil war and to undermine Russia's territorial integrity."

Shakhray stated that he would try to "correct" the new Fundamental Law in the future parliament. In his words, it is necessary to change the provisions on "the relations between the president and the parliament."

During his pre-electoral trip the vice-premier has visited 10 Russian regions. He is to return in Moscow on Saturday evening.

Shumeyko Visits Kaliningrad Region

LD0612092093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0716 GMT 6 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad December 6 ITAR-TASS—Russia's First Vice- Premier Vladimir Shumeyko appeared on Kaliningrad's private television network night show "Kaskad" to call on all those who want an end to political confrontation and the stable development of society to cast their ballots in favour of Russia's new Constitution in the referendum on December 12.

Shumeyko stressed that he agreed to run for a seat in the Federal Assembly from the Kaliningrad region because he did not want to join any political groupings. "New parliament must get busy making new laws instead of engaging in struggle," Vladimir Shumeyko said. "This is why I think that the voters must think twice whether the country needs people (in the parliament) who reject the draft new Fundamental Law and thus make clear that they do not intend to work in the parliament. If the Constitution fails to be approved on December 12, the Federal Assembly will be an illegitimate body, and everything will have to begin from scratch".

Shumeyko arrived in Kaliningrad on Sunday to continue his electoral campaign, meet inhabitants, take part in discussing Russia's new Constitution on a television bridge programme Kaliningrad-St. Petersburg and appear on local state-run television to speak to the voters.

On Monday Shumeyko is due to visit the town of Sovetsk for a meeting with the work collectives of the garment factory, the pulp-and-paper factory and other enterprises and organisations in the city.

Presents View on Single Nation

WS0312150193 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 1

[Article by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko: "'I Believe in Russia's Future.' Vladimir Shumeyko, First Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation to KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA Readers."]

[Text] In an attempt to find universal ultra-national values and a single approach to the revival of Russian statehood, numerous researchers, cultural activists, and simply meditative people are speaking out on an idea outlining the creation of a single Russian nation (analogous with the American nation) that will incorporate descendants of all the peoples inhabiting the Russian Federation.

Ideology of this single nation will likely include all the spiritual and cultural values, and national traditions of Russian peoples and unite them with humanistic and democratic values of the West.

This new ideology should appear and grow organically from our ordinary Russian life. This process will take a lot of time (maybe, several decades), although time is a factor. We should start creating this new Russian ideology immediately. What is important is that we should start with revival of the national culture.

Revival of the national culture means the revival of Russia. We can see an ideological vacuum being filled by primitive copies of "mass culture" derived from the Western society of consumption. However, Western "kitsch" and "mass culture" are common to electronic mass media and they are neutralized by eternal notions of national and state ethics and culture. In Russia, economic difficulties and the lack of a real national culture exclude such factors of stability. "Antimarket" strategy in the sphere of culture and mass media, review of the social, political, and cultural heritage, and a lengthy Russian history should become not only a counterbalance to the information-cultural market, but an important factor in the development of public life, and should occupy a leading place in all mass media.

In my opinion, we have proper historic premises for the formation of a single Russian nation: A new constitution—to be adopted by the Russian population on 12 December 1993—equals all the Russian nationalities in their rights; some 120 million Russians and 88 percent of non-Russians (out of 150 million people inhabiting the Russian Federation) consider Russian their native language and use it in their everyday life.

It is natural that the creation of a single Russian nation is closely connected with economic reforms and democratic changes in all Russian regions. The birth of a single Russian nation will be carried out unevenly in different Russian regions. In my mind, the most probable place for its birth is Kaliningrad Oblast along with Moscow and Saint-Petersburg Oblasts. Kaliningrad Oblast has collected and strengthened all the sides of historic reconstruction of the Russian state.

Kaliningrad Oblast, which joined the Russian Federation in 1946, has lately turned into an original Russian enclave with a multinational population (despite all cultural-ethnic divergencies) united by a single language and place of residence. Nevertheless, the population of Kaliningrad Oblast feels its isolation from the historic land of their ancestors. This feeling is deepened by their

localization in the center of Europe, surrounded by alien cultures, languages, and customs. Objective difficulties connected with economic reforms and implemented in price hikes on production delivered from Russia are viewed as cutting down the Central Russia support. The issues of economic and social transformations, and a review of Russian history regarding the history of Kaliningrad are most pressing for Kaliningrad Oblast citizens.

The economic development of Kaliningrad Oblast is closely connected with its priceless location for Russia. It is viewed by Russia as a key outpost on the Baltic Sea with its unfreezable seaports in the heart of Europe, bordering Poland, Germany, and Lithuania.

Regarding this national weight of Kaliningrad Oblast, there are possibilities of developing its economy in a relatively short period of time. At first, a law on the status of Kaliningrad Oblast and the state program of its development as a free zone should be adopted.

As for the historic review of the links of Kaliningrad citizens with national Russian roots, researchers should write a complete history of Kaliningrad Oblast and the neighboring regions which before had been inhabited by Prussians and tribes related to them. In my opinion, this can be done by the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moreover, Prussian history had already been investigated by M. V. Lomonosov, and we have an entire concept of historic development of both Kaliningrad Oblast and the neighboring southeastern regions of the Baltic region.

This concept presents the facts that the inhabitants of this region actively participated in the formation of the Ancient Russian state. Here are some facts:

—Vladimir chronicle connects Ryurik's genealogy (he was Russia's founder) with the land of the Prussians;

—excavations held in Kaliningrad Oblast by researcher V. I. Kulakov show that Prussian warriors participated in Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavovich's armed force.

—Novgorod the Great had Prussian streets (since the late 12th century) inhabited by warriors and boyars who were the ancestors of many noble Russian names—Sheremetev's, Romanov's, Kutuzov's.

—Prussians played an important role in the creation of the Grand Dutchy of Lithuania whose emblem—"poles of Gediminas resembling a trident"—is likely to have been of Prussian origin. Ryurikovich's emblem which is currently a Ukrainian emblem has the same historic roots.

In my opinion, these facts prove historic links between Russia and actual Kaliningrad Oblast which is currently a specific corridor connecting west, north, and east Europe.

I believe that Kaliningrad citizens will be able to raise their economy and provide a decent standard of living for its citizens; however, they understand that their land is connected with Great Russia and they are representatives of a single Russian nation.

Sobchak on Campaign Trail in Eastern Siberia

LD0312190093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1012 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Krasnoyarsk December 3—Leader of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms Anatoly Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg is now touring Siberia to win support for the movement in the upcoming parliamentary elections. He arrived in Krasnoyarsk after a visit to Chelyabinsk and Kemerovo. As public opinion polls indicate a drop in the public interest in the movement, its leaders have to step up efforts to recapture the public favour.

Sobchak, a former university professor and one of the leaders of the democratic movement in times of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, on whose presidential advisory councils he worked, has been on the road for some days already. He advocates gradual reforms and opposes shock therapy.

While he is on the track, foreign observers in St. Petersburg announced that electioneering rules had been violated by state- run television and radio which gave officials, including Sobchak, preferential treatment in the electoral campaign.

In Krasnoyarsk Sobchak is scheduled to meet the leaders of the territory and appear before voters. His visit to this east Siberian industrial and military centre will end on Saturday.

Predicts 9 Blocs To Win Seats

LD0312190593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1723 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Krasnoyarsk December 3 TASS—Anatoly Sobchak, the leader of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms, who is currently campaigning in Siberia predicted that nine out of '3 election blocs running for the future legislature will win seats in parliament.

"This will be a mosaic State Duma", he said appearing on local Krasnoyarsk television on Friday.

Sobchak favoured the adoption of a new Russian constitution, although admitted that the document has several drawbacks. "I believe that the new Russian constitution, the draft of which is being discussed now, will become the guarantor of democracy in the country if adopted", he said.

"I think the draft which we have written together with Sergey Alexeyev was better and more professional", he added.

Concludes Tour

LD0412132793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1311 GMT 4 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] Irkutsk December 4 TASS—St. Petersburg mayor Anatoliy Sobchak has ended his week-long tour of Siberian cities as part of his election campaign. On Saturday, he left Irkutsk for St. Petersburg.

Addressing students at the Irkutsk state university Sobchak said that the he was pleased with the visit which inspired him with optimism.

Commenting on the draft constitution, Sobchak said that "we have achieved the maximum of what we could achieve by means a coordinated decision: the right of equality of all subjects of the federation, the exclusion of the notion of sovereignty of a republic and the proclamation of integrity and unity of the russian federation and the inadmissibility of seceding from it."

When asked about the Russian president's decree banning leaders of the executive power from taking part in the Federation Council, Sobchak said that this runs contrary to an earlier determined election concept.

Commenting on the tendency of establishing the Siberian autonomous republic, Sobchak said that "it is foolishness brought about by inadequate realisation of the situation in Russia," warning against the danger of creating separate "kingdoms" and Russia's disintegration.

"If we do not want to lose our state, we should take a delicate approach to this problem and not encourage autonomous republics to secede from Russia," Sobchak said.

Sobchak Stresses Importance of New Constitution

LD0512152493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1356 GMT 5 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian Movement for Democratic Reform does not lay claims on the main role in the new parliament or on the posts of president or prime minister, this movement's leader Anatoliy Sobchak told a press conference in St. Petersburg on Sunday. He said that his movement was a movement of well-known people who have achieved success in life, and that in the new parliament it would play the role of the backbone around which all sober-minded people would rally.

Sobchak believes that if the new constitution is not adopted during the referendum, Russia will be drowned in political struggle for many years ahead. If this happens, the Federal Assembly will have to become reorganized into a constituent assembly and concentrate on the constitution once again. He emphasized that in case of victory he will remain the mayor of St. Petersburg and will not move to Moscow. He said that his movement would score a victory if it overcame the 5 percent barrier and was elected to the State Duma.

Sobchak also refuted the reports about plans to bury Lenin's body in St. Petersburg on January 21, 1994. He told Interfax that the decision would be taken by the State Duma.

Sobchak believes that Lenin's body might be buried either in Simbirsk, or St. Petersburg, or Moscow. "It's not important where he will be buried. The most important thing is that corpses be removed from Red Square," he said.

He also announced that if Lenin were buried in the Volkovo cemetery in St. Petersburg, the monument which now stands in front of Smolnyy would be set up near his grave.

Shokhin in Yaroslavl, Discusses Enterprises' Problems

LD0312213393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1858 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nelli Grigoryan]

[Text] Yaroslavl December 3 TASS—Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin came to Yaroslavl on a brief working visit today to meet directors of local plants and participate in a meeting of the regional economic council at the Yaroslavl engine enterprise.

"Problems of a large enterprise reflect problems of the Russian economy and economies of the commonwealth," Shokhin told a news conference here today. Dwelling on the major problem discussed at the meeting—the non-payment crisis—the vice-premier said the government will issue 800 billions worth of credits to commonwealth states so that they have a chance to pay the debts to their partners.

The meeting also discussed the need for purpose-oriented crediting of such enterprises as the Yaroslavl engine plant, as they are strongholds of the future economic boom. "I have a package of specific and useful proposals that will help the government in elaboration of the 1994 budget," said Shokhin.

Yavlinskiy Departs Voronezh for Saratov

LD0312200393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0908 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Starukhin]

[Text] Voronezh December 3 TASS—Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the "Yavlinskiy, Boldyrev, Lukin" electoral bloc, after a one-day visit to Voronezh left for Saratov, another point on his pre-election tour, on Friday.

When in Voronezh, he met the workers of the "Zarya" scientific and production amalgamation, the "Elektrosignal" joint stock society, directors of the largest enterprises and the city's general public. He addressed the inhabitants of Voronezh over local television.

He displayed an interest in the problems of "converting" local enterprises from military to civilian output.

An estimated total of 14 per cent of the Voronezh-based electorate supports the electoral bloc led by the prominent politician and economist.

Tatarstan Adopts Decree on Military Service

PM0612095193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Colonel Andrey Bondarenko, chief of the Volga Military District Press Center: "Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Has Adopted Resolution Contradicting Russian President's Edict; It Also Contradicts Federal Legislation"]

[Text] The Tatarstan parliament has adopted a decree "on military service by Republic of Tatarstan Citizens." Before the adoption of the law "on military service" the republic's Supreme Soviet decreed not to draft to military service citizens of the Republic of Tatarstan who have reached draft age and are studying in the daytime branch in educational establishments of initial and secondary vocational training and students, including those in religious training establishments of the Republic of Tatarstan, before they have completed their study within the schedule set by the educational establishments. Citizens whose closest relatives have died or become disabled during military service are exempted from being drafted for military service.

This legislative act contradicts the requirements of the Russian Federation president's 3 october edict and the Russian Government's 13 October decree which repeal all deferments for students in secondary and secondary vocational establishments and determine the procedure for drafting them this fall and the winter of next year.

Incidentally, in a speech Major General Ivan Stogniyev, the Tatarstan military commissar, pointed this out to the deputies and announced that as a result of the adoption of this decision the republic's military commissariats will be unable to draft nearly 6,500 new draftees, that is about 40 percent of the total number of draftees for this fall. But this important comment by a representative of the Russian Federation military department was ignored. As was the information that draft deferments for the relatives of those who have died have already been set by an edict of the Russian Federation defense minister and their disability group should be determined with regard to those who have been injured or disabled.

This decree also contradicts federal legislation according to which questions of defense are delegated by the republics to the federal center. As a result a document has appeared which can lead only to a new wave of mutual misunderstanding and the aggravation of relations between Kazan and Moscow.

Russia's Choice Candidates Issue Statement, Back Shumeyko

WS0312132293 Kaliningrad YANTARNIY KRAY in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 1

[Statement issued by candidates for the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation from the Kaliningrad Oblast section of the electoral association "Russia's Choice"; place and date not given]

[Text] The electoral association "Russia's Choice" and we, its candidates for the Federal Assembly, have joined the election campaign not for warm seats in the parliament. Moreover, it is on the initiative of our electoral association that the term of office in the Federal Assembly was reduced to two years. This was accomplished with the aim of reviving Russia and organizing its life with support from constituents and all those who are not indifferent to the future of the homeland.

Contrary to its opponents, the "Russia's Choice" association does not voice any populist promises. However, we are the only electoral bloc that assumes full responsibility for:

— the preservation of the unity and integrity of the Russian Federation;

— the new Russian constitution;

— the predictability of economic reform;

— stability and order in the country;

— reliable support for the interests of Kaliningrad Oblast by the Russian Government and Parliament.

We have all the necessary possibilities for this. We are the only team which, in case of victory, will not repeat the bitter experience of our predecessors—people's deputies who pulled the cart of Kaliningrad problems in different directions for three years like heroes of a well-known fable.

The authority and political experience and influence of First Deputy Prime Minister V. Shumeyko, multiplied by our knowledge of the region's needs and problems and the desire to defend the interests of our oblast in the Parliament, will allow us to achieve positive results immediately.

Dear fellow countrymen! Support us and you will not be mistaken!

[Signed] Vladimir Nikitin, chairman of the Presidium of the Oblast Attorneys' Collegium
Oleg Gordov, chairman of the Oblast Organization of Afghanistan Veterans
Nikolay Tulayev, senior officer of the Baltic Fleet Staff

Congress of Komi People Rejects Draft Constitution

LD0512004793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2020 GMT 4 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar, 4 December—Today the congress of the Komi people adopted a decision to reject the draft Russian Federation constitution in view of its failure to provide a legal basis for the sovereignty of the republic of Komi. The delegates at the third congress of the Komi people being held here believe that the draft Russian Federation constitution destroys the Federation Treaty, and thereby violates the basic principle of the federal state, its contractual basis, which presupposes that the treaty will be the basis of the Russian constitution and the constitutions of the republics.

In the view of delegates at the Congress of the Komi People, the new draft constitution gives the Russian president virtually unlimited powers in all areas and leaves him unchecked above all three branches of authority. In addition, while restricting the sovereignty of republics, the president is able to introduce a state of emergency in any republic at his own discretion, even without the agreement of the Federal Assembly.

The participants at the congress of the Komi people believe that the method of adopting the constitution by means of a simple majority of those taking part in the referendum is also unacceptable for the republic, which is the only guarantor for the self- development of the Komi people. This is because the voice of the Komi people, like the voices of all other ethnic minorities, will not be heard. The congress delegates intend to communicate this view to all the republic's inhabitants within the next few days.

International Affairs

Zlenko Discusses Nuclear Weapons, NATO

BR0312111993 Paris LIBERATION in French 3 Dec 93 p 22

[Interview with Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko by Basile Karlinsky in Paris; date not given: "Anatoliy Zlenko: 'We Want To Get Rid of All Our Rockets'"]

[Text] NATO concluded yesterday the preparatory meeting for the summit scheduled on 10 and 11 January which should adopt the "Partnership For Peace" project. This text should make it possible to involve Eastern countries in some operations like peacekeeping missions. Yesterday, Ukraine was at the heart of the debates. According to Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, NATO has threatened to stop cooperation with Kiev should Ukraine refuse to dismantle its nuclear arsenal. This statement was denied by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

Before going to Brussels to defend his country's policy, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko stopped over in Paris. He gave LIBERATION an interview.

[Karlinsky] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev accuses Ukraine of threatening Russia with strategic nuclear rockets based on Ukrainian ground. Is this a Russian threat against Ukraine?

[Zlenko] This statement does not reflect at all the friendly relations which we have established with Russia and which we will maintain. We know that it reflects a trend in Russia which encourages the deterioration of our relations. Andrey Kozyrev pretends not to know that while the rockets are in the Ukraine, the ignition system is in Moscow. We have no intention whatsoever to take the operational control over these rockets and we are seeking to get rid of all of them progressively. The ratification—though partial—of the START I disarmament agreement by the Ukrainian parliament must be seen as a first step toward eliminating these weapons.

The vote of the parliament is only an indication of the concern expressed by the Ukrainians which should not be overestimated nor underestimated. Before we proceed any further, we must solve two questions: first, determine the concrete terms and conditions of the destruction of these rockets with the other nuclear powers such as the United States and Russia; second, the problem of the corresponding financial aid must be dealt with.

[Karlinsky] How do you react to Russia's opposition to a possible NATO enlargement with central and eastern European countries?

[Zlenko] Any system of collective security in our region calls for a NATO expansion, quite logically. This conception is shared by Ukraine as well as by Russia. It is legitimate that Russia fears being cut off and isolated from Europe. It is desirable, on the other hand, that the gaps be bridged so as to bring the countries involved closer to each other before integrating them into a general security system in Europe. Ukraine understands that before proceeding with an enlargement of NATO to the east, it is necessary to set up a preliminary approach with provisional terms and conditions. "Partnership" with NATO could serve this purpose.

[Karlinsky] Could Ukraine also adhere to NATO some day?

[Zlenko] Let us be realistic. Ukraine cannot become a member of NATO now. But the possibility of it some day becoming part of it, with Russia, is not ruled out. Together or separately.

Zlenko Interviewed on Nuclear Missile Issue

PM0312194193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Yuriy Kovalenko: "Kiev Considers Nuclear Missiles Its Gold Reserve"]

[Text] Paris—Ukraine has been criticized in Rome at the CSCE meeting, in Brussels at the NATO session, and in Paris at the parliamentary session of the Western European Union for deciding to keep its nuclear arsenal.

"I understand [Russian Foreign Minister] Andrey Kozyrev's concern and at the same time am still surprised at the inconsistency of some of Russia's representatives and the minister himself," Anatoliy Zlenko, head of Ukraine's foreign policy department, told me in Paris.

Minister Zlenko reminded me that Ukraine has ratified the START I Treaty. That is an important first step toward Ukraine's acquiring the status of a nuclear-free state, but it is not the last step. Since Ukraine and Russia are two friendly states it is not in Moscow's interests to exacerbate the situation.

Zlenko stressed that the disquiet voiced in Kozyrev's statement over the fact that Ukraine is a nuclear state does not accord with the facts: "Ukraine is not a nuclear power. It is the owner of nuclear weapons with a limited opportunity of putting them to their designated use."

The minister stressed that Ukraine primarily views the nuclear weapons as a "great material asset" and, on this premise, is willing to conduct talks and decide their future. The tactical nuclear weapons that were withdrawn from Ukraine to Russia last May are valued, according to Anatoliy Zlenko, at several billion dollars. We are being forced to surrender an asset that our people created without receiving compensation.

The head of the Ukrainian foreign policy department indicated that two questions have to be decided. The first is associated with guaranteeing national security: "Otherwise our people will not understand us since we will be left alone to face the danger that exists around Ukraine. Especially since we are constantly facing territorial claims from both the east and the south."

The second concerns the provision of financial and technical aid for Kiev—and this is in the interests of the international community. The Ukrainian budget does not have the money to destroy the nuclear weapons. But there is a comprehensive government program for the destruction of these weapons. And this program costs over $2.5 billion including the social requirements.

Kiev also has bones to pick with Moscow. Thus, assessing Russia's new military doctrine, Anatoliy Zlenko noted that some of its provisions, primarily the possibility of Russia being the first to use nuclear weapons, worry the international community, including Ukraine. Against whom does Moscow intend to use these weapons? Who is its number-one enemy?

Foreign Ministry Statement on CSCE Meeting

LD0312155893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] The press center of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry has reported that the fourth session of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE has completed its work. At the session, the final document on a wide range of European security and cooperation issues was adopted. The council of foreign affairs ministers also adopted a declaration on aggressive nationalism, chauvinism, racism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism. The clause on chauvinism had been included in the declaration on the initiative of Ukraine.

Considerable disappointment was caused among the meeting's participants by the Russian delegation's actions in the last minutes of the forum's work to block recommendations on cooperation within the framework of the CSCE on issues of the settlement of conflicts, the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the establishment of contacts, and mutual trust in the military sphere, which were approved by the delegations of Vienna's CSCE member states, including the delegation from Russia.

In response to biased statements made by representatives of certain countries, the Ukrainian delegation explained by way argument the Supreme Council's resolution on the ratification of the START I Treaty.

One should mention that on the whole the participants in the conference had a favorable perception of the constructive approaches contained in the speech by the head of the Ukrainian delegation, Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko. The next CSCE conference will be held in Budapest in 1994.

Germany Said Willing To Provide Economic Aid

LD0412111693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2100 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—A UNIAN correspondent was informed at Germany's Embassy in Ukraine on 3 December that—according to German Foreign Affairs Minister Klaus Kinkel—Germany will continue to help Ukraine to resolve its economic problems. In Kinkel's opinion, his state must do this because Ukraine is currently in a worse economic situation than Russia. Germany expressed satisfaction that Ukraine is not renouncing its international obligations in the area of nuclear disarmament, and Germany is waiting for resolute steps from Kiev.

"We are ready to render assistance for disarmament to both Ukraine and Russia," Kinkel said during a debate on budget issues in the German Bundestag.

Space Agency Official Discusses Cooperation

AU0512155693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 2 Dec 93 p 5

[Report by Nataliya Zinets: "We Have Something To Offer to the Space Community, and Not Only Strategic Missiles"]

[Text] *Ukraine's National Space Agency determined several specific trends of future cooperation with the world's space powers. This refers, in particular, to the research involving remote-control probing of earth (in this sphere, Ukraine has achievements at a world level), the utilization of the Ukrainian "Zenith" launch-vehicles and Ukrainian strategic missiles, which are today subject to conversion, and systems of satellite communication.*

This is what a UNIAN correspondent learned from Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko, deputy general director of Ukraine's National Space Agency, who took part in the work of the World Forum of Space Agencies held in Montreal in November.

According to Zhalko-Tytarenko, the Ukrainian space program gave rise to keen interest on the part of participants in the forum who represented national space agencies of the United States, France, other European countries, and Japan.

There was also an element of surprise, because the stereotype has not yet been finally overcome, in accordance with which Russia alone is considered to be a successor to all the achievements of the former USSR, in particular in the sphere of space research. Meanwhile, over decades, Ukraine has been making a great contribution to the fulfillment of Union programs dealing with space; one of the five "Soviet" design bureaus is located on its territory, and the world's most powerful missile-building complex works in Dnipropetrovsk. In Ukraine, docking units are manufactured for the "Mir" space stations and other manned space apparatuses, as well as unique optical instruments, which evoke particular interest in partners.

"Speaking from the podium of the World Forum," pointed out Andriy Zhalko-Tytarenko, "we stressed Ukraine's position: Despite the fact that, after the disintegration of the USSR, there emerged several space powers, it is inexpedient and even harmful to divide the space branch into separate parts, because this branch was

created over many years as a single complex. The disruption of ties will hamper research in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Russia and will oust us from the world's space markets. Ukraine strives to cooperate with all interested countries in peaceful space."

During the forum, Ukrainian representatives held negotiations and started preparing agreements with national space agencies of other states. Besides, on the basis of a consortium for questions of power engineering and environmental protection, which is well known in Canada, it became possible to open a commercial mission of the Ukrainian Space Agency. It will look for worthwhile contracts for the Ukrainian space-missile branch. The office of the mission will be situated on the 45th floor of Montreal's most prestigious building, which also houses the Canadian mission of the IBM firm, the National Bank of Canada, and so on. It is worth mentioning that the lease of these expensive premises will not, so far, cost Ukraine a single dollar. It is a favor from those who are interested in a future cooperation with Ukraine—a state which has a powerful space potential.

National Issues

Kravchuk on Economy, START Ratification

LD0312134593

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 2300 GMT on 2 December carries a five-minute report by correspondent Vitaliy Naumenko on President Leonid Kravchuk's visit to some enterprises and establishments in Kiev on 2 December. Reception is poor.

The correspondent plays an extract from a tape made at the news conference following the visits. Asked how one could attract more investment into the Ukrainian economy, Kravchuk says:

"Another step has been taken. You know, (?the) laws adopted by the Supreme Council on this issue, they were progressive ones. I would go further, they were some of the most progressive in the world. I know this because they proceeded in accordance with (?examination) abroad. Then the government made (?it) considerably worse with its decrees, simply made it worse. I simply do not know what aim was set here. But this is a fact. And now certain changes have been made and things will get better again.

"This is one matter. A law is needed. Guarantees are needed. Stability is needed. And a good image is needed. When I ask journalists and say - guys, I do not want you to write untruths, I want you to see not just the black side but for you to see what exists in life too. And do not follow those who consciously create a negative image for Ukraine only so as to frighten everyone that, you know, that this is the end here, that everyone is dying now, no one is working now, everything is stopping now, a total crisis and so on. This is said about us. But when they are asked why they say this, then they say that we do not say this ourselves, but write from what you say and write about yourselves.

"And so, imagine a situation. They are writing in our newspapers, using our mouthpieces. Then we complain that they are writing something wrong about us. Therefore I am getting at the fact that one should see things as were seen today, as you rightly say, at this elevator joint enterprise.

"And this is only one enterprise. There are now hundreds like this, even thousands of enterprises. But Ukraine is a large state, and even 1,000 is too little. A scale of, say, tens of thousands is needed, such plants, enterprises, small ones, medium ones. If one has initiative, then matters will go forward without fail."

Naumenko says that Kravchuk was asked about ratification of the START I Treaty. He goes on:

"Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk said that he had had a conversation with U.S. President Clinton, who was also dissatisfied with the stirring up of passions regarding all of this. And Kravchuk also said that we should return and resolve this issue. And he said that (?as head) of executive authority he is ready to begin the first step even now, for example to carry out the deactivation of SS-24 (?nuclear) missiles.

"Concerning servicing of these missiles, he said that this is a nuclear problem. It does not distinguish between states, whether it is Russia or Ukraine. There are no borders. And he expressed firm certainty that they would after all come to an agreement with Russia.

"And there was another question concerning the possible participation of Russia's peacemaking forces as a peacemaker on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Leonid Kravchuk said: I do not think that this permission will be granted so quickly by the Western community. The (?world) should consult with UN member states and CSCE members to resolve this issue on a collective basis. That is, I think that the wishes of our people should nevertheless be taken into account rather than give someone permission to carry out police functions here."

Kravchuk Addresses Meeting on Armed Forces Day

Cited on START, Black Sea Fleet

LD0412213293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] Addressing a meeting today on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, President Leonid Kravchuk noted that the START I Treaty ratified by the Ukrainian parliament is only the first step toward the state's nuclear-free status. He said the executive power he was in charge of is also prepared to liquidate SS-24 solid-propellant missiles.

Kravchuk announced that he had approached Yeltsin with a proposal that the problem of the Black Sea Fleet should be finally resolved. According to Kravchuk, the parties should confirm all the documents on the Black Sea Fleet signed in the past. In its turn, Ukraine intends to define which of the fleet's ships it needs for itself. The Russian-Ukrainian commission will take stock of the fleet's property.

Kravchuk stressed Ukraine agreed to give Sevastopol to Russia as a long-term lease. At the same time, the whole infrastructure of the fleet on the republic's territory is Ukrainian property. The Ukrainian Navy and the Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation will be based in Sevastopol, fulfilling both national and joint tasks.

Outlines Main Tasks

LD0412220493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1946 GMT 4 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov—TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 4 TASS—The main task of the Ukrainian Armed Forces is to protect territorial integrity, inviolability of borders and state sovereignty, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told a ceremonious meeting at the republican Defence Ministry today, speaking on the occasion of the Armed Forces Day.

The Ukrainian supreme commander-in-chief congratulated servicemen with the holiday and informed them of the government policy to consolidate national independence and ensure military building.

He presented the army general shoulder-straps to Ukrainian Defence Minister Vitaly Radetskyy and certificates on rank promotion to a number of officers and generals. Some servicemen and staffers of the military-defence complex were awarded orders and gifts.

Then the president had a meeting with the Ukrainian Defence Ministry's board and commanders to give the instructions for 1994. He approved the new uniform for the armed forces, the border and interior troops and acquainted himself with samples of a combat banner and banners of armed services.

From now on the day of the Ukrainian Armed Forces will be marked on December 6 - it is the date of the Ukrainian parliament's adoption of the law "on the Ukrainian Armed Forces".

Comments on Further Issues

LD0512103993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 93

["Excerpt" of speech by President Leonid Kravchuk at the Ukrainian Defense Ministry on the occasion of Armed Forced Day on 4 December—recorded]

[Text] These are the tasks facing Ukraine's armed forces today. You know them, and I merely would like to mention this package again for all of us to hear.

The main task of the armed forces is to defend the independence, territorial integrity, and constitutional system of Ukraine. This is the most important task. Second, in the course of the preparation of the Armed Forces for a new stage in their development, attention should be focused on the search for the most effective forms and methods of combat action proceeding from Ukraine's geostrategic and geopolitical position. Third, nuclear, technical, and environmental security must be ensured both during the period of storing nuclear warheads on our territory and during their removal from Ukraine. Fourth, training and education of personnel must be aimed at their consolidation around the ideas of sovereign independent Ukraine, its unique history, and the Ukrainian army's road of combat throughout all the periods and historical stages, when our nation, its sons and daughters, fought to enrich both the war tactics and the war strategy of not only the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Attention must be focused on the guaranteed protection of the life and health of personnel. We cannot omit the problem of eradicating phenomena that leads to draft evasion, bullying, and outrageous conduct in relation to soldiers as well as, as it happens, unfortunately, to the local population. There are instances of theft of state and military property, accidents, and disasters. These result in casualties and produce an extreme effect on morale in Ukraine.

Next, we must do our best to preserve the scientific potential of the Armed Forces. I already mentioned that, and would emphasize it again. To that end, conditions that are as comfortable as possible, including economic ones, must be provided for the work of military scientists.

This, my esteemed friends, is what I basically wanted to say to you. There is one more thing I would like to stress in conclusion. All those present here have been entrusted with the arms and the defense of the state. Therefore, you must be guided by state interests only, and by state policy alone. There can be no other policy in the armed forces. If anyone has a different attitude, a different policy, and a different opinion on that, he must, as soon as the idea occurs to him, hand in his resignation on the same day, receive a discharge from the armed forces, and act as a civilian in a democratic society. I will then have no claim against him. Should he act this way in the armed forces, I will have a claim not only against him, but first of all, against the minister of defense. This must not be allowed; this must be stopped. Rallies, debates, and political slogans are inadmissible in the armed forces. This is what I want everybody to know even on this festive occasion.

We all look forward to a long (?new) road of life and struggle for a democratic, safe, and secure Ukrainian state and its armed forces. We must cover this road together in a way that will prevent any armed conflicts in

our land. This will depend on how we understand our responsibility to the people and how we act accordingly. Once again, esteemed friends, my congratulations on this occasion. I wish you every success in your responsible and difficult job of defending our state. Thank you for your attention.

Navy Commander on Ties With Black Sea Fleet

WS0612111993 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Report by Anatoliy Polonskyy]

[Text] The drafting of a concept for building the Ukrainian Navy on the basis of a national military doctrine is approaching completion. At the same time, commanding bodies are being formed, including the staffs of logistics, the Air Force, and the shore troops. Formation of the 1st Surface Ships Brigade is continuing. Thus far, there are five ships of this kind in the fleet, including the flagship Slavutych. Maritime aviation and on-shore structures are being developed.

Not long ago, Vice Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy was appointed commander of the Ukrainian Navy. His main traits are expertise, organizational skills, and the ability to initiate contacts with other people and create a businesslike atmosphere. Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy has been resolutely rooting out the weeds of Kasatonov's rule from the fleet. Bezkorovaynyy's principle is that political issues should be resolved by politicians, while military ones should be handled by the military. Today, regardless of the lack of long-awaited political solutions at the interstate level, the situation in the fleet has improved. How is the Ukrainian Navy building its relations with the Black Sea Fleet?

[Begin recording, in Russian] [Bezkorovaynyy] Our relations with the Black Sea Fleet are normalizing, although the progress that we have reached thus far cannot be used to resolve common problems. We are working on establishing normal human contacts. These are vital issues and we do not need assistance from the higher political echelons—they are in our power. Mutual understanding between Black Sea Fleet Commander Eduard Baltin and me has started looming. Both the city and the Republic's administration support these activities and the development of contacts.

[Polonskyy] How do you assess the future of the two fleets?

[Bezkorovaynyy] The future of the two fleets is in line with the future of two sovereign states. Ukraine is building its navy, the task of which has been defined as the protection of our southern maritime borders. Russia has its own goals. The future will depend on the resolution of these tasks.

[Polonskyy] Where will the fleets be deployed?

[Bezkorovaynyy] The Ukrainian Navy is a navy of a sovereign state. Ukraine has a coast representing one-third of its borders, as well as bases to deploy its Navy.

[Polonskyy] What will be the fate of the principal naval base?

[Bezkorovaynyy] Sevastopol will remain the principal base; it will be the capital of the Navy. [end recording]

Black Sea Fleet's Baltin Refuses Fuel Aid for Crimea

LD0412165393 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1233 GMT 4 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mykhaylo Stetsyuk]

[Text] Sevastopol, 4 Dec—Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, reacted negatively to the proposal by the Crimea's Emergency Commission for Energy Resources to connect the shore electric networks to the energy units of the fleet's ships. The Black Sea Fleet has rational objections to this.

Baltin expressed the objections in a specific way. He said that he had warned six months ago of the possibility of such a situation arising with regard to fuel. The Black Sea Fleet commander appealed to all government structures—even including the Ukrainian president—from September to October with a single request: to repeal the customs duty and land tax, because such expenditures had simply not been envisaged.

Unfortunately, these appeals were not answered. As a result, 8 billion karbovantsi disappeared from the fleet's budget in payment of taxes and duties, although it had been planned to purchase 700,000 tonnes of fuel oil with them. The Black Sea Fleet is the only military unit in Ukraine paying land taxes.

Intelligence Service Claims Spying in Dnepropetrovsk

LD0412193293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1440 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] Lieutenant General Volodymyr Slobodenyuk, head of the oblast directorate of Ukraine's Security Service [SBU], told a session of the oblast council on 2 December that during the past 10 months SBU personnel had terminated the activities of four foreign intelligence agents. According to security data, the oblast was regularly visited for a period of from a few days to a few weeks by more than 20 foreign intelligence agents as well a up to 100 people suspected of involvement with foreign intelligence services. Foreign emissaries made several attempts to form illegal structures for different kinds of information gathering. Direct or disguised bribery of our citizens by entering them on the list of joint venture founders and paying their hard currency contributions to these enterprises' capital funds has become widespread. Foreign states are using the information to put economic and political pressure on

Ukraine. In connection with the early election to Ukraine's Supreme Council, the SBU recorded a number of attempts to set up various funds abroad to support certain political parties and citizens in the election, which should be regarded as an attempt to gain a foothold in Ukraine's power structures.

Energy Crisis Problems Examined; Russia Not Blamed

PM0612095793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Mariya Starozhitskaya and Aleksandr Kharchenko of UNIAN news agency "especially for IZVESTIYA": "Ukraine Hit By Energy Crisis, But Russia Not To Blame"]

[Text] Kiev—For one week Ukraine has been living in conditions of an electricity-saving state of emergency declared by the Cabinet of Ministers. Energy savings of 55-60 percent will have to be effected in December compared with last year. This does now apply to the population, agriculture, producers of basic foodstussfs, the fuel complex, and electric-powered transport. The relevant instruction has been issued.

However, this is not especially warming for the inhabitants of Ukraine—the temperature of the central heating mains supplies is 50-60 degrees below the required level. With an outside temperature of zero degrees centigrade it should stand at 81 degrees centigrade, and three degrees of heat should be added for every degree below zero. Given that the temperature in Kiev is around 17 degrees below freezing, whereas in Donetsk Oblast, for exmample, it has been down to around 20 degrees below for a month already, every citizen can calculate how much colder he is than normal. Inhabitants are hoping for aid from the East—an anticyclone approaching from that direction promises a thaw. On the initiative of the leadership of Ukrainian Television, the programs on all channels begin from 1800 hours. True, "Ostankino" starts at 1755, when trasmission of "Prosto Marii" ["It Is Easy for Mariya"] begins. Thanks to this, a trainload of fuel oil is saved daily. True, this is not enough: Evening power cuts have begun.

Ministries and departments submit to the Ministry of Power and Electrification lists of enterprises which are switching to part-time working; many plants and factories are moving their days off around. Despite the approaches proclaimed in recent government documents, the Cabinet of Ministers has decided to grant ministries and departments the right to decentralized payment for and purchase of fuel—for hard currency or rubles.

"Russia is absolutely blameless in this regard," Oleg Litvinov, chief of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers Energy and Nuclear Oversight Section, said. "It is even prepared to sell us its coal surpluses— all we have to do is pay for it. Our debts for oil, fuel oil, and gas are very large and, although we continue to receive energy sources—only half as much as before, if truth be said—we are not honoring even our contractual commitments for deliveries of, for instance, sugar and vegetable oil, of which we have more than Russia. For the time being we do have fuel, but less than usual has been stockpiled for the winter—7 million tonnes of coal, whereas there always used to be 10-12 million tonnes in the storehouses. Now we are saving and should have enough until mid-February. The uncoupling of the Ukrainian and Russian energy systems has been a calamity—the first 10 days of working separately have now passed."

In order to survive the winter the state urgently needs to find around 2 trillion karbovantsi to purchase the oil through year's end, almost 1.5 trillion karbovantsi to resolve the problems of the coal sector, and 360 billion rubles to cover debts owed for Russian gas deliveries. "Fuel reserves at thermal power stations, even allowing for daily coal and gas deliveries, are sufficient for 20 days at most," Ukrainian People's Deputy Oleg Panasovskiy, director of the Uglegorsk GRES [state regional electric power station], told the congress of Ukrainian power workers held in late November.

Why does Ukraine find itself plunged into a tough energy crisis? Pit strikes alone have resulted in 12 million tonnes of coal, which might have sufficed to generate the minimum amount of electricity required, being left at the pit faces. But, as power workers keep repeating, Ukraine has no fuel problem; it has problems over a shortage of funds and with the monetary-credit system.

In order to overcome the crisis, it is necessary to rely primarily on nuclear power—not so long ago the moratorium on the sector's development was lifted and AES's [nuclear electric power stations] today provide up to 40 percent of the Ukrainian economy's needs. And the reintegration of the Ukrainian and Russian power grids, which could stabilize the situation, will take place only after three power units at the South Ukrainian, Khmelnitskiy, and Rovno AES's come back on line after repairs.

Government Economic Policies Criticized

WS0612111293 Kiev MOLODA HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 23 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Petro Yteklyy: "Several More Ideas And Ukraine Will Cease To Exist]

[Text] Serhiy Teryokhin, executive director of the Foundation for Support of Economic Reforms, believes that all recent initiatives of the Ukrainian Finance Minister Hryhoriy Pyatachenko are antisocial and antimarket in their nature. To support his words, S. Teryokhin cited several convincing examples.

First, the introduction of the value-added tax on exports to the CIS countries led to shrinking volumes of exports and the debt reaching 7 trillion rubles. After having eliminated decentralized export, the Finance Ministry wrote off debts of the enterprises to the state debt, which

is supposed to be repaid from the state budget—in other words, by Ukrainian citizens.

Second, is the idea of the Finance Ministry to establish a 10- percent interest rate for the Ukrainian National Bank. Economic senselessness of the move aside, this in the first place will slash tax revenues from banks and financial organizations, giving rise to a new hotbed of corruption.

Third, the finance minister gave away 2.6 trillion karbovantsi [K] to private business entities at 3 to 5 percent of annual interest rate—for three years!—compared to 300 to 600 percent interest rate on the free market.

Thus, the incompetence of the finance minister drags Ukraine deeper into an economic crisis, leaving it no chance of establishing normal market relations.

Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk could have a decisive say in this matter. However, two of his recent edicts ("On Undertaking Additional Measures With Regard to Currency Regulation" and "On State Commodity Obligations of Ukrainian National Resources") can become the last straw. As is known, the latter edict was vetoed by the Supreme Council.

Sources close to the Cabinet of Ministers say that Pyatachenko, acting Prime Minister Zvyahilskyy, and the president's adviser Suslov directly participated in assembling those edicts and other documents that added to the list of incompetent and antimarket government resolutions.

According to the same sources, this time, it would be the finance minister whom Leonid Kravchuk would single out as a scapegoat, which might become the first case in a series of further personnel purges.

However, some observers are inclined to disagree with this. They think that Kravchuk's signatures on those documents say that this was part of his political action. He will replace several people, pointing to their incompetence, and will get off scot-free.

There is no doubt that the politician Kravchuk has began preparations for the March elections. One can even bet that he will definitely get rid of several persons from his team. If this option does not work, one cannot rule out that the elections will not take place at all—something that the Cabinet of Ministers along with the Ukrainian National Bank proposed as a measure capable of delivering Ukraine from the crisis.

Speaking of new ideas, the "government suggests that a new exchange rate be set in November, where the dollar would sell for K6,980," said Oleh Andronov, manager of the Ukrainian Currency Exchange. Let me note that the establishment of the current fixed rate three months ago dramatically reduced Ukraine's currency revenues. Over the past two months and a half, $120 million passed through the stock exchange—a week's turnover three months ago.

If those new ideas are given a go-ahead signal, currency revenues from commercial banks will automatically be trimmed to a minimum—no one would want to deal with such a rate. The hard currency would escape to the black market, boosting the shadow economy. For state enterprises, this would mean immediate bankruptcy, because the government wants them to sell 100 percent of their currency at the fixed exchange rate.

The primary function of the finance ministry is to manage the state budget. In other words, it is supposed to oversee distribution of the national wealth to balance income and expenditure of the state. The permanent printing of the Ukrainian karbovanets made it look like a piece of paper.

It seems that the finance ministry does its best to strangle the Ukrainian economy.

Security at Nuclear Facilities Deemed Serious Threat

WS0312142793 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 24 Nov 93 p 1, 2

[Report by Valeriy Polushko: "The World's Second Largest Nuclear Power Plant Assaulted"]

[Text] **Three drunken men, having driven their "Zhiguli" [Soviet-made car] up to the checkpoint at the Zaporozhskaya Nuclear Power Plant [ZNPP] hydroelectric shop, tried to enter the controlled area...to go fishing! The person manning the checkpoint, who stood to block the uninvited guests, was knocked down and mercilessly beaten.**

Having heard a noise, plant workers came running, but one of the assaulters pulled out a sawed-off shotgun and threatened to shoot anyone who tried to approach the man laying unconscious on the ground. The assaulters then got into their car and drove away.

This was not an isolated trespassing incident at one of our nuclear power plants. Local media have recently reported of nine men in two "Zhigulis" who managed to penetrate the area around the ZNPP hydroelectric shop. They were eventually removed with the help of militia and a local military unit. There have been many cases of equipment thefts from the ZNPP department of supplies; drunken intruders have even trespassed into the water inlet, where the security system controls for Energodar—a city of nuclear engineers—can be disconnected. If such deeds are not beyond the power of a drunk man, they are most certainly not beyond the means of a deliberate criminal. It should be mentioned that some ZNPP facilities have become night shelters for bums, since they are warm and dry.

According to Viktor Kulinich, deputy general director for security at the Production Association "Zaporozhskaya Atomic Power Plant," nuclear plant managers understands well that any breaches of security are fraught with serious consequences. Nuclear materials can be used by

criminals as poisons, as well as weapons for terrorist purposes. Besides, these weapons are very dangerous on account of their invisibility and capacity to bring mass destruction. However, workers at these nuclear facilities have no legal basis for maintaining the physical protection of their installations; no legal norms for fighting criminals at our nuclear power facilities. While statesmen are slow to adopt appropriate laws, the severest punishment for intruding at a nuclear installation is a fine of 100 (!) karbovanetses, and this was determined by a resolution of the Energodar City Council. Apparently, Chernobyl has taught us nothing at all.

Donbass Workers Appeal to Leadership for Action

LD0312134493 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1208 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Donbass, 3 Dec—[Donetsk] Oblast Council deputies, members of the Party of Labor, and representatives of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers of Ukraine have made an appeal to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy. "In the course of the last three months, understanding full well the complexity of the economic situation in Ukraine and its dependence upon the settlement of economic and financial problems of eastern Ukraine and considering the latter, in its turn, to be dependent upon your willingness to do so by carrying out an economic, pricing, and taxatioin policy in our state, we have repeatedly appealed to you, requested, and demanded that you come to Donbass and sort out on site what is happening. Unfortunately, you have not found time for this. There can be another explanation, which is that you are avoiding a direct contact with the region's working people, who have been brought to their knees by the state policy. However, both you and we cannot help but realize that the disintegration of Donbass will be followed by the ruination of Ukraine. We do not want this to happen, but it is beyond our control to contain the processes that are governed from Kiev," the document states. It goes on to say: "If your reaction to this appeal is the same as to those made previously, we will be compelled to interpret it as nothing other than your opposition, as statesmen, to the working people who are the citizens of Ukraine and who are not indifferent to the destiny of their country."

Reduced TV Casts Intended to 'Restrict Information'

PM0612102793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Maryukha: "Ukraine Speaks of Saving but Shows in Fact a Desire to Restrict Influx of Informations from Outside the Republic"]

[Text] Ukraine is entering the coming winter with a reduction in television airtime. It has become known from reliable sources that the Ukrainian Ministry of Communications recently conveyed this directive to the leadership of the television broadcasting centers.

The "saving" is also to affect urban transport.

At the same time, in the opinion of Krymenergo specialists, a far greater saving could be provided by returning the republic to the Moscow time zone. And if one can argue over that question, everything is absolutely clear as regards television.

The reduction of broadcasting will have virtually no effect on the saving of electricity—the gaps formed will be filled by commercial cable television, which is successfully continuing to operate even under the conditions of the restriction on state television. In the opinion of Anatoliy Didenko, deputy director of the Crimea television and radio broadcasting center, in adopting this decision the government proceeded rather from the desire to restrict the influx of information from outside the republic. If you recall that in Ukraine it is virtually impossible to subscribe to Russian publications, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, then the restriction on television broadcasting does indeed look that way.

Belarus

Shushkevich Signs Resolution on Georgia as CIS Member

LD0312184693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Belarusian leader Stanislav Shushkevich on Friday signed a resolution unanimously approved by the presidium of the Belarusian parliament sealing Georgia's full membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States, sources in the Belarusian legislature told Interfax.

Under the existing rules, a nation may only be granted membership in the CIS if its application to join the Commonwealth is backed by all CIS member states.

Belarus was the last Commonwealth nation to give its approval to Georgia's membership in the CIS.

Georgia is now an equal CIS member.

General Prosecutor Favors Introduction of Presidency

WS0312144293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Report by Mikhail Rutkowski]

[Text] Today is the last working day for the Supreme Soviet this week, and we are now able to draw some conclusions. However, first I am going to summarize the gist of this morning's debates. Discussion began with several short reports on miscellaneous issues. Later, the rostrum was taken by Fedor Mirochitskiy, minister of agriculture and foodstuffs, and Energy Minister Valentin Gerasimov. The two ministers delivered reports on measures the government is taking to overcome the current energy and food crisis. In my opinion, the ministers were not too optimistic. However, the deputies chose not to discuss their reports. They were probably satisfied with Kebich's report on his Moscow talks with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The main issue of this week's proceedings was discussion on the Republic's draft constitution. I invited People's Deputy Vasil Shaladonov, general prosecutor of the Republic of Belarus, to comment on this issue.

[Begin recording, in Russian] [Shaladonov] As of today, only one chapter outlining the state system has yet to be discussed by the deputies. The deputies have already adopted 100 out of 152 clauses. Some people's deputies [words indistinct] claim that we should at first calmly discuss economic issues, followed by political issues, and then matters concerning the state system. In my opinion, this is not the best option. As of today, the state system of Belarus has not been specified. Hence, we cannot move forward.

[Rutkowski] The deputies have organized an accord commission. What is the membership of this commission and what is its aim?

[Shaladonov] All the legislative factions are represented in this commission. However, the working group of the Constitutional Committee should strictly adhere to the concept of the draft constitution that was adopted by the Supreme Soviet. The introduction of a Presidency in the Republic [words indistinct] was backed by 217 people's deputies.

[Rutkowski] What is your opinion on the introduction of the institute of presidential power in the Republic?

[Shaladonov] In my mind, it will be easier to improve our predicament with a strong president. [end recording]

Moldova

Bendery Peace Talks Bring 'No Tangible Results'

LD0312192293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1217 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] The latest round of talks between the Moldovan and Transdniestrian expert delegations brought no tangible results, Nicolae Andronic, head of the Moldovan negotiating team and chairman of the Moldovan parliament's legal committee, told INTERFAX.

The talks held in Bendery for four days were mediated by a Russian delegation headed by Nikolay Medvedev, director of the office for territorial matters in the president's headquarters.

Andronic said that the two sides failed to agree on the essential point of Moldova's integrity.

The Moldovan delegation wanted the status of the Transdniestrian area to be consistent with the advice given by the CSCE permanent mission: That Moldova should stay as an integral and independent state.

Andronic said that this position was supported by the Russian officials.

The Transdniestrian delegation headed by Professor Vasiliy Yakovlev, a well-known hardliner, pressed for Transdniestria being regarded as a sovereign state at the talks.

Andronic said that each team had signed its own document. The two documents had been handed to the Russian representatives who would report to President Boris Yeltsin.

The Moldovan MP [member of parliament] thinks that the Transdniestrian delegation was not interested in a constructive dialog before the parliamentary elections in Russia. After the elections the talks will resume with mediation of Nikolay Medvedev, representing the Russian president.

Luchinskiy Calls For 'Close Contact' With Russia

LD0312212393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1751 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin"]

[Text] "Moldova cannot but maintain close contacts with Russia and other CIS countries, since we have much in common," said the speaker of the Moldovan Parliament, Petr Luchinskiy, on national radio on Friday. He said this does not affect the republic's independence and sovereignty.

Luchinskiy rejected the accusations of those who say that, if a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Moldova will turn its back on Romania. "No, we shall not turn our backs on this fraternal state. We are developing friendly relations with it. At the same time, we cannot go the way of those who demand that Moldova re-unite with Romania," said the speaker.

IF Note: Luchinskiy has in mind radical nationalists-representatives of the Christian-Democratic Popular Front. Earlier deputies of this faction have repeatedly blocked principal decisions, in particular, on Gagauzia's special status and on the republic's entering the CIS. According to the parliamentary majority, the obstructionist position of the nationalists has forced the factions prevailing in the legislative corps to raise the issue on early parliamentary re-elections.

Speaking on Transdniester, he said that inhabitants of the region want to live in a single and indivisible Moldova. Luchinskiy said that the problem remains unresolved because some of the extremist leaders of Transdniester do not want to agree to compromise.

Luchinskiy emphasized Ukraine's stand in how to solve the problem. He said that Moldova and Ukraine have common positions in how to settle the Transdniestrian conflict and preserve Moldova's integrity.

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The Moldovan MP thinks that the Transdniestrian delegation was not interested in a constructive dialog before the parliamentary elections in Russia. After the elections the talks will resume with mediation of Nikolay Medvedev, representing the Russian president.

Nevertheless, Moscow insists on continuing the dialogue between representatives of leaderships of Moldova and the self-proclaimed Transdniestrian Republic, a source in Tiraspol (Transdniester's administrative center), who attended the first meeting of the working groups from Moldova and Transdniestrian Republic held November 29-30 in the Transdniestrian city of Bendery, told Interfax.

At the same time Vasiliy Yakovlev, head of the Transdniestrian delegation at the negotiations and rector of the Tiraspol university, declared at the session of the Transdniestrian parliament that "Transdniester should not make any compromises." In his opinion, in case official Chisinau shows no wish to accept Tiraspol' provisions "one should completely reject the negotiations."

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev in Shymkent, Comments on Ties With Russia

LD0312121493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1052 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Amangeldy Akhmetalimov and Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Shymkent, (Republic of Kazakhstan), 3 Dec—An understanding has been reached between the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan to work jointly to promote integration processes within the framework of the CIS. This was stated in Shymkent today by Nursultan Nazarbayev as he addressed a meeting of leaders of local executive and representative bodies.

Speaking of reforming institutions of power, the Kazakhstani leader pointed out that the process of self-dissolving soviets of all levels, which is now under way in the republic, reflects the reality that they have accomplished their historical mission. However, Nursultan Nazarbayev added, the process of reforming the institutions of power must proceed by constitutional means.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS in English, in a similar report transmitted at 1128 GMT on 3 December, adds the following information: "Nazarbayev announced his appointment by decree of a new head of the Shymkent Regional Administration. That is already the fifth replacement of a regional head since the beginning of November, which accounts for one quarter of their number."]

Views Financial, Election Systems

LD0312220893 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Sep 93

[Text] On the morning of 3 December President Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko visited Shymkent. The president held a meeting with the participation of local executive and representative authorities, deputies of various levels, heads of large enterprises and organizations, and the mass media. Addressing them, the head of state described the present stage of developments in Kazakhstan, which began with the introduction of a national currency, as a time of great changes.

He said: In this connection we must reexamine and correct our previous course and put every possible effort into deepening the reform, taking into consideration new realities so as to lift the country out of the crisis and move forward in a very decisive way.

The president highlighted the priorities demanding urgent settlement. He said: Our future in many ways depends on our quick response in this area. In particular, I mean improving the financial system as a whole, elaborating new approaches in the formation of market relations as the basis for economic policy, and the efficient use of financial means as well as enhancement of our fight against organized crime and corruption.

Concerning the problems of reforming the institutions of power, Nazarbayev said that the active process of self-disbandment of people's deputies soviets of all levels, which is currently under way, reflects the reality. He said: They have fulfilled their historic mission and are no longer capable of playing a role in the future. But we must choose the constitutional way for this. The Supreme Council, at the December stage of the current session, in order to correct this process should adopt new laws on elections, on local self-government, and fix the time of the election.

The head of the Republic informed all those present that on 2 December he talked to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and they reached an accord to continue, despite the introduction of Kazakhstan's own currency, joining their efforts to promote the process of integration within the CIS framework.

Nazarbayev said that he had relieved the head of the South Kazakhstan Oblast administration, Mars Urkumbayev, of his post. By presidential decree, Zaurbek Turysbekov was appointed head of the oblast administration. He was the first deputy head of this administration. In the afternoon Nazarbayev left for Bishkek.

Leaves for Bishkek

LD0312230993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev has stated that his country was not inclined to "burn the bridges of cooperation between peoples built for centuries behind itself." "The achievement of the true sovereignty is a more complicated and long-term process, and the readiness to undertake it is not the way for loners," he said speaking in Bishkek at a ceremony of naming him the man of the year by the international association "Rukhaniyat." The most important thing is to stabilize the situation in Central Asia and the whole Commonwealth, he said.

The concept of Kazakh patriotism cannot be locked on Kazakh nationality alone, the president pointed out. Representatives of all Kazakhstan's minorities—Russians, Germans, Uigurs—equally were citizens of the republic. Nazarbayev said he was amazed at the appeals to "take care of Russians" residing in the Central Asian republics. "First it is necessary to ask the people themselves whether they need such care or not," he added. The Kazakh president warned he would not stand the language of ultimatums and splits in the friendship of people in the heat of elections passion and intentions to play off the "Russian card basing on momentary political reasons rather than the interests of people and, moreover, those of the development of our two states."

At the ceremony, representatives of the "Rukhaniyat" association presented the Kazakh president with a white horse.

Last year, the association named Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev man of the year.

Republic, Russia Debate Future of Space Center

LD0312132093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 93 p 3

[Sergey Kozlov report in the "Kazakhstan" column: "Moscow and Almaty Will Remain in Baykonur. Those Willing May Join In"]

[Text] The news conference by Yuriy Koptev, general director of the Russian Space Agency; his Kazakhstani colleague Tokhtar Aubakirov; and the Republic's deputy prime minister, Galym Abilsiitov, was rather reminiscent of a public showdown, at times turning into a squabble over the future fate of the Baykonur space launching site.

Yet for all the disagreements, "none of us opposes this space launch site," Galym Abilsiitov said. "Everyone wants to preserve it and, moreover, develop it further and use it for our interests."

These interests are in the area of joint defense and in implementing a huge civil space program on which Russia is now working.

Russian Space Agency Director Yuriy Koptev also believes that Baykonur occupies quite a definite place: It is irreplaceable.

"Any talk about leaving this site in the future," Koptev noted, "is fraught with very big losses for Russia. I cannot say that they cannot be made up, but these losses may have an extremely bad effect on all our current plans and all the services that can be rendered with the assistance of space facilities, within the CIS framework."

According to the Kazakhstani side, however, at present neither Russia nor Kazakhstan have sufficient funds to ensure the viability of the immense technical, production, and social complex. In the past everything was decided in Moscow fairly quickly, using the power of the entire huge country. Now the divided countries, which are incapable of fully ensuring the operation of the space launching site, have decided to share all costs.

"In spite of the fact that Kazakhstan does not have its own space program or direct state interest in the launching site as an object of scientific and technical or production activity," the Kazakhstani deputy prime minister specified, "we are interested in Baykonur's existence and development if only because it is our property. And we have agreed to share the costs of maintaining the space launching center." Kazakhstan's share in the overall spending constituted 6 percent, and Russia's was 94 percent. This does not involve space programs but merely the maintenance and operation of the complex.

Today the complex is being used without repairs and is rapidly falling into decay. Almaty has also expressed its discontent over the CIS Joint Strategic Forces Command's transfer of the site to the jurisdiction of the Russian Defense Ministry in the middle of last year, without coordinating with the other CIS participants.

There is now a 40 percent shortage of commissioned officer specialists and a 57 percent shortage of noncommissioned staff. Importantly, manpower is the responsibility of Kazakhstan, which is already experiencing huge difficulties in raising its own army.

The best possible option for organizing the operation of the launching site, in the Kazakhstani leadership's opinion, would be to create on its basis an international space company with the participation primarily of Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and possibly other countries. This, as is believed here, could attract considerable foreign resources to the project and also help demilitarize the complex.

"So far, however, this idea has not received support from Russia," Kazakhstan's deputy prime minister stated. "But we are also looking for other approaches and do not rule out that for the sake of salvaging the site it may be put up for public sale...."

True, Abelsiitov added that this option will undoubtedly be coordinated with Russia, but he did not preclude such a scenario.

The Russian position was presented by Yuriy Koptev. According to him, space activity in the world today is maintained for the most part with state support. In talking about a space company, therefore, it is necessary to establish from the outset who will be supporting it financially.

"To hope that within the next five to six years the space launching site will take such a form, allowing it to become self-sufficient, is unjustified optimism," Koptev said.

If no state funds are invested in the business (and at present it is possible to talk only about Russian money), what can survive is a particular launch pad or a particular line of activity in Baykonur, but nothing more. In addition, so far no foreigners who would be willing to launch rockets from the Kazakhstani site have come forward.

Furthermore, Koptev believes, at present it will be practically impossible to quickly attract the 14,000 civilian specialists needed to replace the military space officers. Everyone agrees, however, that it is necessary to try to change the situation and gradually demilitarize the site. Yet the approaches to addressing this problem are fundamentally different. Kazakhstan believes that the questions about the viability of the launching site and of Leninsk city are inseparable, and that Russia must assume responsibility for the whole complex. Moscow, for its part, supposes that it is impossible to replace the military specialists with civilians in the near future.

Operations may be ensured in the form of an international space company, but within the framework of state financing with some services being provided on a commercial basis. A transitional period of several years is planned to carry out such changes, but with a special condition, namely to make sure that the complex remains part of defense programs.

Legislators Lay Down Powers, Move To Disband Parliament

LD0312154493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1436 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Kazakh parliament is entering a period of deep crisis. As many as 43 lawmakers announced on Friday [3 December] that they lay down their powers five days before the start of the second stage of the parliament's regular session.

Calling, through the local mass media, on other parliamentarians to follow suit, they said that Kazakh councils at all levels became useless. Moreover, they are rapidly turning into a roadblock in the way of progressive changes in society.

Consequently, they have now only one way out: to disband themselves. Later, they can be revived as qualitatively new bodies of representative power.

Proposals are voiced that parliament should be made less cumbersome, operating on a permanent basis. Many important issues in the republic call for urgent decisions under the present conditions.

However, lawmakers are not always able to underpin these decisions with appropriate legislative acts, since they are not professional and sit in session only twice a year.

The above demarche will evidently be heeded to by the majority of lawmakers. Land literally burns under the feet of opponents of reforms. Over 100 district, city and regional councils have already disbanded themselves.

Other legislators virtually have nothing to do but to direct the spontaneous process to the constitutional channel in order to save their face: to adopt new laws on elections and local self-rule and to set a date for early elections.

Kyrgyzstan

Agrarian Party Founded in Bishkek

LD0512190893 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 0000 GMT 5 Dec 93

[Text] The largest and most deprived group of agricultural workers in the republic has united to create a new independent political organization, the Agrarian Party. It is the eighth independent political organization in Kyrgyzstan. Its official registration took place at the Ministry of Justice. In presenting the registration papers to Agrarian Party Chairman Aliyev, Deputy Justice Minister Usmunov said:

The new political party's peculiarity is that it has a clearly marked objective, which is to protect the interests of workers in the agro-industrial complex. Party leaders intend to strive, with the help of their representatives in parliament, for agriculture to become a priority field of development and for a quick implementation of the land reform. These are good objectives, and it is important that they should not remain on paper. This party may become one of the most important political forces in the Republic, because it is made up of people who feed us. The question is whether rank-and-file workers follow and believe their leaders.

Usmunov wished members of the Agrarian Party more constructive and useful projects conducive to understanding, rather than confrontation between various political movements in the Republic.

Aliyev presented a brief description of the aims and tasks of the Agrarian Party and familiarized those present with the main points of its program. Here are some of them: a return of independent farmers to the political arena; the protection of their political, economic, and social interests; and a resolute struggle against command methods in agriculture management.

We are in favor of an economy with various forms of ownership, Aliyev continued. It is necessary to give the state and private sectors in agriculture equal starting conditions. The law on agrarian reform was published two years ago. The land reform, which is the main element of reforms in agriculture, is not viable. We can see that state enterprises continue working, be it efficiently or not, while there is still no private sector.

Even before adopting our Constitution, which declared the state ownership of land, 17,000 farmers in the republic had already obtained state licences [akt] for using land. As is known, laws cannot have retroactive force, which leads to a contradiction. We would like to bring it all in line with the law.

The ownership of land, with the right to sell and inherit it, can be introduced in accordance with international practice. However, first of all, farmers should become the owners of the land.

In the Kyrgyz Republic, there are 10 million hectares of land suitable for growing agricultural produce. It is a pity that this land is not used to full capacity.

Tajikistan

Opposition Leader on Mojahedin Activities, New Weapons

PM0312103093 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 30 Nov 93 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Tajik opposition leader 'Abdallah Bokhari by 'Abdallah al-Hajj in Jeddah; date not given]

[Text] Jeddah—Tajik opposition leader 'Abdallah Bokhari has emphasized that his supporters have recently acquired advanced weapons, including antiaircraft missiles that can be carried on the shoulder and are "characterized by a substantial destructive capability."

Bokhari did not disclose the source of these weapons. However, in an interview with AL-HAYAH he stressed that Afghan military aid to his supporters has ceased and that Iran helps only by sending battalions that "promote special destructive ideas."

The Tajik mojahed, who leads a special wing inside the Islamic Revival Party opposed to the communist Dushanbe government, said that the missiles his supporters received will be used against the Russian-made MiG aircraft that constantly raid the Tajik Islamists' positions.

Tajik mojahedin are engaged in a war against the Dushanbe regime, which is supported by Russian and CIS forces. Tajik sources have said that under military agreements between Moscow and Dushanbe 25,000 Russian soldiers were recently sent to reinforce Tajik Government positions.

Bokhari said that the Dushanbe government "is facing a critical dilemma because of mojahedin attacks. Had it not been for the Russian forces and their CIS allies, the government would not have survived until now, and it would have been toppled within two weeks in the face of Muslim Mojahedin attacks."

He said that the Tajik mojahedin "are engaged in ferocious battles in the areas of Bang Watus and Mulurah [as transliterated]." He emphasized that the resistance is preparing to launch a "sweeping" offensive at the beginning of next summer.

Bokhari went on to say that some Afghan field commanders provided military aid to Tajik mojahedin in the past, "but this aid has now stopped because of these commanders' preoccupation with the ongoing battles between leaders of the Afghan mojahedin factions."

He said that the situation in Afghanistan "has not prevented scores of young Muslim men from joining Tajik mojahedin ranks and fighting communist schemes against Tajikistan." He added that "the fear that the CIS, Russia, and European states feel of the growing Islamic tide in Europe and of the Tajik mojahedin's success, along with their fear that something similar to what happened in Afghanistan might happen in Tajikistan, was the reason for their uniting together to fight Muslims in these areas."

He urged the Arab and Islamic states to provide aid "to bolster the mojahedin's steadfastness against communism." He stressed that "the camps of the refugees escaping the oppression of the communists in Dushanbe are facing a human tragedy in a severe winter, especially as a result of the shortage of medicine and food and lack of shelter, which threatens the lives of thousands of women, children, and elderly people whose fate is known."

Former Opposition Press Officially Banned

LD0512182493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1716 GMT 5 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 5 TASS—The Tajik Press and Information Ministry ruled to revoke the certificates of registration issued earlier by the same ministry to publications of opposition parties and movements now under ban in the republic. This move was prompted by the Supreme Court's decision to ban Tajikistan's Democratic Party, the Islamic Party of Revival, the Rastokhez (Revival) and Lali Badakhshon Popular Movements on charges of "attempted overthrow of Tajikistan's constitutional system and fuelling civil war", the Ministry said in a statement.

Some independent observers consider this prohibitive action by the Press and Information Ministry to be of somewhat abstract character, since all opposition publications ceased to exist in Tajikistan last December following the change of political power in the republic.

Armenia

Government Strips Opposition Media of Accreditation

MK0412133093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 4 Dec 93 p 2

[Konstantin Petrosov report: "Press Under Pressure"]

[Text] This week has seen an event unprecedented for the Armenian press. The Armenian Foreign Ministry's collegium meeting has stripped journalists from three opposition newspapers and one news agency of accreditation. Giving reasons for its decision, the Foreign Ministry said that the newspapers' theoretical and political disputes tend to end in personal insults, a practice that is not in line with journalists' ethics. The republic's Foreign Ministry appears to have gone too far this time, however, for even the official newspapers have denounced the action, which Is far from democratic and at odds with the stated freedom of speech and the law on the press. SNARK, Armenia's independent news agency, has voiced a protest deeming this action to be yet another step aimed at encroaching on Armenian journalists' rights.

Karabakh Official on Azerbaijani Stance on CSCE Plan

NC0312183293 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] NOYAN TAPAN news agency has reported that Robert Kocharyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] State Defense Committee, issued a statement today which says:

Having once again displayed goodwill for the peaceful resolution of the conflict, the NKR leadership gave its agreement to the CSCE peace plan, hoping that Azerbaijan would give a similar reply.

Despite the existence of a number of points in the schedule on urgent measures unacceptable to the NKR, we believe that it is the duty of each side of the conflict to exert maximum effort not to miss this historic opportunity.

Regrettably, the Azerbaijani authorities have preferred another path. They not only rejected the schedule endorsed by the UN and the CSCE, but also the very idea of the Minsk conference, the aim of which is the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict.

Despite the UN provision that no arms should be provided to the conflicting sides, Azerbaijan is brazenly purchasing tanks, military aircraft, and mercenaries [words indistinct]. At present, a concentration of troops and military hardware is being observed all along the war front.

Sadly, the world is not quick to react to these extremely dangerous moves that are fraught with the danger of unleashing military operations. Therefore, we consider it our duty to once again draw the world's attention to the new dangerous moves by the Azerbaijani leadership, and to note that under the existing conditions the NKR Government will be forced to resort to necessary measures to ensure the security of the republic.

Azerbaijan

Guliyev: Foreign Mercenaries Fighting for Armenia

LD0512154193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1356 GMT 5 Dec 93

[Text] Armenia will be unable to wage a five-year-long war against Azerbaijan but for outside help, Azeri Parliament Chairman Rasul Guliyev says.

Speaking on national television on Saturday, he said Armenia's economic indicators were 90 percent down on its performance before the break up of the former Soviet Union and that "it cannot afford to buy even a single tank now".

Guliyev named the Armenian diaspora and some western CIS states among Yerevan's main donors.

"Cossack units and mercenaries from a number of CIS states are fighting on the aggressor's side", he said.

The Azeri official said his country had nowhere to retreat and that "the government is taking measures to try to liberate the occupied territories".

Armenia is in control of about 20 percent of Azeri territory, according to Baku.

Defense Minister Denies Afghan Fighters in Army

LD0412223793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Interview with Azerbaijani Defense Minister Mamed Mamedov by Baku correspondent Mamedov; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer Igor Vykhukholev] The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict must be resolved peacefully, not by war, said Azerbaijani Defense Minister Mamed R. Mamedov in an interview with our Baku correspondent.

[Correspondent Mamedov] The head of the republic's military department described reports by some information agencies about an alleged offensive of the Azerbaijani army in Nagorno-Karabakh as provocation.

[Minister Mamedov] Azerbaijan has no intention of staging an offensive and will not do so, because, as we said before, it has been our policy to resolve this conflict peacefully.

[Correspondent Mamedov] Numerous claims have been made about some kind of armed forces from Afghanistan

which allegedly have begun or will begin to take part in combat operations of the Azerbaijani Army.

[Minister Mamedov] I must state that there are no—nor can there be—Afghan servicemen in the regular Army. Someone might have seen citizens from a town in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, or other states with which we have borders. In spite of the war that is going on, people visit one another. I do not see any need to deprive them of this right.

[Correspondent Mamedov] The general also said he had serious proof of foreign mercenaries fighting for Armenian formations. He said that some of them have been taken prisoner by the National Army.

Rail Link Planned Between Nakhichevan, Iran

NC0412083293 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] As is known, to cut off the Nakhichevan region from Azerbaijan proper the Armenian Republic has closed the Partaz-Salamalik section of the Azerbaijan Railroads since 1989. As a result the economy of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic has not been functioning normally for a long time and the people are facing enormous difficulties.

In addition, the closure of the railroad prevents the transportation of transit goods destined for Iran, which deprives our country of substantial foreign currency income.

To remedy the situation and establish direct and stable transportation links with the Near and Middle East and with southern Asian countries by using the Iranian railways network, the Azerbaijani Government has decided to build a new railroad between Mindzhivan and Ordubad that would pass through Iran. The requirement of Iran's consent was considered at the time.

The Council of Ministers press service told an AZERTAC correspondent that the Azerbaijan Railway Administration will conduct the feasibility studies and place the order for construction while the State Company for Transportation and Road Construction will act as the main contractor. The Republic's economy and finance ministers were instructed to include in their yearly programs the allocation of funds from the state budget for the feasibility studies and construction of the new railway.

Opposition, Independent Papers Stop Publication

NC0312191393 Baku TURAN in English 1325 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Baku December 3 (TURAN)—The leadership of the biggest "Azerbaijan" publishing house informed the editors-in-chief of all the newspapers, that the publishing house ceases the publishing of all the papers, except the organ of the presidential team "Azerbaijan" newspaper. This decision was made in connection with the deficit of metal plates, by means of which papers are published, Nizami Ibragimov, the new director of the publishing house informed the editors-in- chief today. But as the stuff members of the oppositional "MUSAVAT", "MUHALIFAT", "ULUS" papers told to TURAN News Agency, the real cause is different. As Tofik Dadashev, the editor-in-chief of "ULUS" paper said, the employees of all these papers have purchased the metal plates beforehand and have handed them over to the publishing house, but the papers were not published as well. "The causes of the refusal are not technical, but political," Tofik Dadashev told to TURAN News Agency.

Last week the powers tried to force through Milli Mejlis an amendment to the law on press, which could let the authorities to shut up the objectionable mass media. Then this amendment failed. Judging by all, the authorities try to shut up the opposition and independent mass media under pretense of technical problems.

About hundred of papers and magazines were being published in "Azerbaijan" publishing house till today.

Law Banning Political Censorship To Be Deleted

NC0312211593 Baku TURAN in English 1542 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 3 (TURAN)—As TURAN News Agency found out, the leadership of Milli Mejlis intends to forward the question of the withdrawal of the article, banning political censorship, from the law on press, to the discussion of the parliament again.

A number of opposition and independent papers came out with a statement recently, condemning the actions of the authorities, aimed at the introduction of political censorship and "twisting arms" of the independent press.

As Tofik Abbasov, the press secretary of the president said, the question is the introduction of not political censorship, but military censorship. To his words, the introduction of military censorship is a norm for the warring country.

Meanwhile, political censorship, privately introduced after the June events, remains in action. Opposition papers are being published with cuts from time to time.

As reported, "Azerbaijan" publishing house, where nearly all the papers are being published, stopped publishing all the opposition and independent papers under the pretense of lack of publishing means.

Radiation Near Oil Wells Reportedly Increasing

NC0312205793 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Turkish 1630 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] The amount of radiation in the vicinity of the oil wells around Baku in Azerbaijan has increased to a point 235 times higher than normal. The organization for the

protection of the environment in that republic disclosed that information two days ago. It said that the significant increase in radiation has seriously threatened the health of oil production workers and the people who live in the vicinity of the oil wells.

According to experts, the increase in radiation has been caused by the rising level of the underground water resources.

Georgia

Memorandum of Understanding With Abkhazia Reviewed

PM0312150593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Yuriy Kovalenko report: "Talks Between Tbilisi and Abkhazia Will Start in January"]

[Text] Paris—Talks on a comprehensive settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict are to begin in Geneva or Moscow 11 January 1994 under the chairmanship of Eduard Brunner, the UN secretary general's special representative.

A memorandum of mutual understanding has now been signed in Geneva by Jaba Ioseliani, chairman of the Georgian Emergency Committee, and Sikrat Dzhindzholiya, one of the Abkhazian leaders, after two-day talks held under UN auspices. Tbilisi and Sukhumi have agreed to a cease-fire, the sending of UN "blue helmets" and international observers to the regions of conflict, an exchange of prisoners of war before 20 December 1993 without any prior conditions, and also the return home of refugees. Tbilisi estimates the number of Georgians forced to leave Sukhumi since September 1993 at 200,000.

"We hope that guarantees by the international community will help to conclude a peace treaty this time," Jaba Ioseliani emphasized in turn. "We have already signed three cease-fire agreements with the Abkhazians, who have used them every time to arm themselves and to carry out new attacks."

Citing diplomatic sources, AFP reports that Eduard Shevardnadze's representatives at the Geneva talks received the support of the so-called "group of friends of Georgia," which unites representatives of France, the United States, Britain, and Russia.

The eight-point memorandum also provides for the international community to give assistance in restoring the region's war-ravaged economy. In addition, a special group of UN, CSCE, and Russian experts will be set up to prepare recommendations in respect of Abkhazia's political status.

Shevardnadze, Abahidze Pleased With Russian Units' Role

LD0312211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1959 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow December 3—According to a report by the Georgian Information Agency of December 1, chairman of the Georgian parliament—head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, and chairman of the Ajarian Supreme Soviet, Aslan Abashidze, met with the command of the Russian division stationed in the Ajarian capital Batumi.

The Georgian and Ajarian sides "have positively assessed the role of Russian units in the current processes of the establishment of peace and stability in western Georgia, guarding railway junctions and motorways," the report said.

It was noted in the document that "after military units headed by Admiral Eduard Baltin left the city of Poti, the Russian command decided to help Georgia with new reinforcements, and render support to the population of Poti in maintaining public order. The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere."

Tbilisi: Black Sea Fleet Withdrawal Breaks Accord

LD0312160693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1445 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Dec—The Georgian leadership "has expressed regret" that the naval infantry of Russia's Black Sea Fleet has left the town of Poti and regards this step as a violation of the accords on the term of its stay, it says in the statement circulated by Eduard Shevardnadze's press secretariat today.

The document states that on 3 November Otar Patsatsia, Georgia's prime minister, and Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the fleet, agreed that the infantry would enter Poti and would stay there until intergovernmental Russian-Georgian documents were signed.

Without explaining which documents were meant and citing Admiral Baltin, the press secretariat of the head of the Georgian state reported that the naval infantry was to stay in Poti until the situation became completely stable in Poti and in other regions of Georgia and could only leave the territory being monitored after relevant consultations with the republic's government and joint decisions on this issue.

In this connection, the press secretariat "is forced to state that the conditions stipulated for the withdrawal of the naval infantry have not been observed," and it expressed regret regarding this matter.

Refugees From Abkhazia Form 'Expedition Corps'

LD0312134793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in Russian 1109 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec—For the second week, there has been no let-up in combat operations in the ranges of the Kodorskiy ravine. According to the Georgian Defense Ministry's press center, Abkhaz troops are conducting an offensive against mountain villages of Abkhaz Svanetia, using artillery and "Grad" multiple launchers. Home guard detachments are putting up a stubborn resistance. The press center of the Georgian military department informed the correspondent by telephone today that, for the time being, the republic's Armed Forces have not been engaged in active retaliatory operations. This is dictated by the wish of Georgia's leadership to reach a settlement in Abkhazia by political methods.

At the same time Georgian Supreme Soviet Deputy Borish Kakubaba, a native of Abkhazia, has stated at a session of parliament, that on his initiative a 30,000-strong "expedition corps" has been formed from refugees from Abkhazia, for whom, according to Kakubaba, "a mission has been prepared to liberate the homeland".

'Armed Unit' Aids Local Troops Against Abkhaz Attack

LD0312230093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1958 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By Georgian News Agency correspondent—TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi December 3 TASS—A 100-strong Georgian armed unit [as received] came to rescue of local defence troops which repulsed Abkhazian attacks at Georgian settlements in the Kodorsky ravine of the Gulripsh region.

Until now Georgian armed forces did not involve in combat operations in Abkhazian Svanetia.

Shevardnadze Rejects Charges of Neo-Communism

LD0312144893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1350 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochatkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Dec—In a press release today Eduard Shevardnadze categorically rejects the charges by former Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua and Minister of Defense Tengiz Kitovani who, according to Tbilisi papers, have called the Civic Union, set up at his initiative, "a neocommunist and pro-Russian party."

"It is most likely that statements of this kind cannot be seen other than as a result of elementary ignorance and political irresponsibility," Eduard Shevardnadze said. "It is also possible that it is not their fault, but, rather a problem of theirs, for, not infrequently, they do not know and are not aware of the issues about which they attempt to pontificate ... [ellipses as received]

"The assertions that attempts have been made to resurrect commuhnist atructures do not, I think, stand out by their originality or novelty, for it is not the first time that this has been done."

Bakery Guards Ordered To 'Shoot To Kill'

LD0312141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1245 GMT 3 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kokchetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 3 Dec—The bread crisis in Georgia has reached a peak: people are queuing for days outside bread shops and some people are raiding bakeries.

According, the republic's leadership has taken an unprecedented step: the Defense Ministry has been instructed to guard Tbilisi's bakeries. If an armed attack is made on them the order has been given to shoot to kill.

Estonia

Laar Holds Talks With Latvian Prime Minister

LD0312190393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Today, in the talks in Parnu held by Latvian Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs and Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar there was an elucidation of the two countries' stance on the question of the withdrawal of Russian troops. Russian troops must be withdrawn from Estonia and Latvia by 31 August 1994, but the sites remaining on the territories of Estonia and Latvia must be dismantled or reconstructed. This condition applies in the first instance to the Skrunda radar station in Latvia and the Paide reactor in Estonia. It was recognized that the problem of housing construction for troops being withdrawn from the Baltic countries is still topical.

There was further discussion of the questions of the participation of Latvia and Estonia in various European organizations. The leaders of both countries stressed that the real desire of the Baltic countries to be involved in the European security system must be demonstrated. The (?delegates and prime ministers) believe that the idea of the creation of a joint peace- keeping battalion must be supported. There was further testimony of the Baltic countries' resolution to start talks on entering the European Union. The prime ministers of the two countries agreed that the next talks will take place on 19 January in Latvia. Due to be discussed at them are current issues in the two countries' cooperation. But this year Mart Laar, Valdis Birkavs, and Adolfas Slezevicius will meet in Vilnius.

Latvia

Talks Resume With Russians on Skrunda Radar Site

LD0612125293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Russian-Latvian interstate talks have resumed in the House of Science at Lielupe [Jurmala district]. As is known, the main subject for discussion is the Skrunda radar station. President Guntis Ulmanis and high-ranking Russian officials visited that military installation on Saturday [4 December] at the initiative of the Russian side.

According to the information at our disposal, the Latvian delegation will propose that Russia keep the Skrunda radar station under its control for two years.

And here is an announcement for reporters: A briefing on Guntis Ulmanis' visit to Skrunda will begin at the presidential office in an hour.

Foreign Minister Andrejevs Visits Singapore

LD0312182993 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0800 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs, on his way back from Australia, arrived in Singapore where he met his Singaporean counterpart Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng. There was discussion of the question of investment in Latvia's economy and developing Latvian-Singaporean trade relations. Andrejevs handed over a draft treaty on trade and economic cooperation for Wong's perusal. Andrejevs also informed Singaporean representatives about the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvian territory and thanked them for the support provided by the Singaporean envoy to the UN on this issue.

Before this meeting Andrejevs met with businessmen, the heads of the port, and advisers on trade and economic questions.

Lithuania

Slezevicius Criticizes Russian Military Doctrine

LD0312163493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] The adoption by Russia of its military doctrine has a negative influence on the development of relations between Lithuania and Russia. This opinion was expressed by Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius in his reply to a question by a Baltic News Service correspondent at a press conference on Thursday.

[Words indistinct] of critical attitude to the Russian military doctrine, the head of the Lithuanian Government expressed his regret that a neighboring state exerts pressure on other states, moreover, small states. Slezevicius emphasized that Lithuania has been and will continue to strive for normal, business-like, and mutually advantageous relations with Russia, as well as with other neighboring states, .

Prime Minister Slezevicius and the minister of national defense, Linas Linkevicius, who was present at the news conference, confirmed a common intention to conduct a consistent policy of Lithuania's integration into economic, political, and defense structures of Europe. However, they stressed that this will be a prolonged process.

Brazauskas on Nordic, Russian Relations, NATO

LD0412145493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 4 Dec 93

[Text] President Algirdas Brazauskas granted an interview to Lithuanian television yesterday. He described certain actions by the leadership in domestic and foreign policy. He said in particular that during his meeting with Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis discussions took

place on the further coordination of the actions by the Baltic countries and their rapprochement with the Scandinavian countries.

He also noted Latvia's concern over the oil terminal in Klaipeda. He announced that it is necessary to supply information how ecological problems linked with the construction of the oil terminal will be solved. For this purpose Bronislovas Vainora, director of the Mazeikiai "Nafta" enterprise, will take part in a Latvian television broadcast.

President Brazauskas dwelt in detail on Lithuania's stance regarding NATO. He said he was utterly astonished at a speech by Landsbergis who stated that Lithuania has outstripped its neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, in moving toward NATO, as the Russian army is still present in those countries, and therefore Lithuania should go forward and be the first to speed up rapprochement with the North Atlantic Union.

I regard the statement by Landsbergis as unacceptable, Algirdas Brazauskas said. As far as NATO is concerned, we support the stance of the countries of the Visegrad Treaty, after the Czech Republic, Hungary, and the United States proposed the form of a possible cooperation, the so-called peaceful partnership initiative. This issue will be discussed next month. An agreement on partnership with the NATO will be signed by each individual country in Eastern and Central Europe, including Russia, although the text of each agreement might be different, Algirdas Brazauskas said.

Replying to a question about Russia's military doctrine, the Lithuanian president noted: We must be very careful in the assessment of some statements by Russia as the election campaign is taking place there. This affects the mood of the statements. I think that common sense and logic prevailing in Europe and also frequent meetings by the major West European states will help to assess the situation and not over-dramatize statements such as that by Primakov that the interests of the defense and security of Russia might require that Russia sends its army outside the country's borders.

We are conducting a silent policy, said Algirdas Brazauskas. It is accepted by our partners and is justified by the course of events. If sometimes there is no agreement in politics, this is normal, but it does not mean that we are conducting a secret policy.

Speaking of Lithuania's economy, Algirds Brazauskas stressed that the sixth government had succeeded in stopping the collapse of the economy and in stabilizing inflation. Ways are being sought to strengthen the litas.